

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

#### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + Keep it legal Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

#### **About Google Book Search**

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at http://books.google.com/





# HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

•

THE HUMANISTS' LIBRARY Edited by Lewis Einstein IV THE DEFENCE OF POESIE &c.

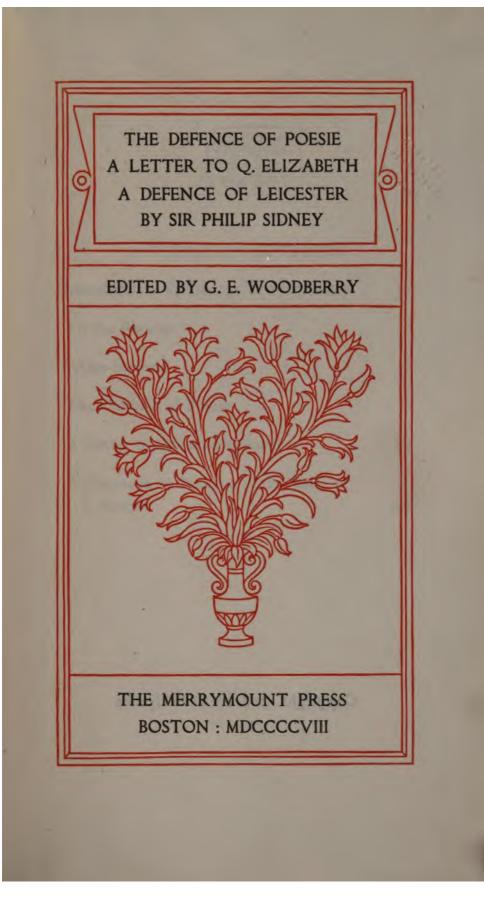
•

.

. .

. .

•



14457.34

,

.



Copyright, 1908, by D. B. Updike

.

## A TABLE OF CONTENTS

.

.

.

•

.

• .

.

•

•

Introduction. By George E. Woodberry	xi
To the Reader	3
Foure Sonnets	5
The Defence of Poesie	11
A Letter to Queen Elizabeth	89
A Discourse in Defence of the Earle of	
Leicester	109

· · · · . · .

### NOTE

The text of Dr. Ewald Flügel's edition of The Defence of Poesie has been made use of by his kind permission. Dr. Flügel has further increased the general Editor's indebtedness to him by personally going over the proofs of this edition, and giving it the benefit of his additional corrections.

L. E.

. ٩ • • 

# INTRODUCTION

•

•

•

· • . . . 

### INTRODUCTION



HILIP SIDNEY in this brief book shrined up for immortal memory the riches of Italian humanism, at a great English moment, just before the romantic outburst of his country's "breed

of men" eternized the late glory of Elizabeth's reign. It contains the meat on which their intellect was fed; their temper breathes from it; and it is a mirror of their literary accomplishment at the instant. Its obscure origin in a Puritan attack on the playhouses by Stephen Gosson in 1579; its composition about 1983, though it was not published until 1595; its being a controversial pamphlet in the passing war of the theatre or in the more general contest of the purblind party in Europe against the illumination of the new learning, are bibliographical details, interesting but immaterial; for however fortuitous its birth and particular its aim, it at once disclosed the bright metal of those little "golden" books which are among the rarest products of time. It is the first classic-first both in time and in rank-of English criticism; and, happily, its bygone learning, its stylistic devices and quaint terms are steeped in the personality of the best-beloved

xi

Introduction Muses' Bower, and breathes the fragrance of one of the choicest spirits of mankind. This golden substance and personal charm united to make it a precious volume to later English poets, one of the few books which it is reasonably certain that they all have read.

> In England humanism has no other monument so shining; neither has it any example so pure. Sidney's thought is woven, warp and woof, of the classics and Italy Such assimilation implies an affinity in the thought for the thinker,—it was his own before he found it; and in Sidney the mind was humanistic. His nurture had made him almost as much the child of European civilization as he was the son of an old English stock. If Italy threw such graces on Surrey's noble mind that men see in his verse the grey streaks of the new dawn, in Sidney

"Hyperion's march they spy, and glittering shafts of war."

He was as well educated as Milton in the next age, as deeply imbued with delightful studies, though his mind was less richly stored; and Surrey and Milton were the morning and evening of Italian humanism in England. Sidney was a complete example of its modifying power on the genius of his country. He had his Latin and French by the age of twelve, and by twenty he had al-

xii

most ended his travels on the Continent, where Introhe had imbibed language, literature and know- duction ledge in many kinds, to return home fitted to become one of the best masters of learning in the kingdom, and well on in the journey. His curiosity was unbounded; he was as inquiring as he was observant; and his mind had singular adhesiveness,-everything stuck to it. He had more than intelligence; he was as quick with sensibility and imagination. He was more than assimilative; he was naturally imitative, and a creator in his turn. He was a stimulating presence, an agitating influence; everything, where he was, became a living question. He was no anachronism lingering superfluous on the Field of the Cloth of Gold; no fading knight, the afterglow of things and ways departed from the stirring world, the player of a half æsthetic part. Sidney was a man of power. He showed this in inferior ways; he was proud, quick to rebuke, loud-voiced to fling back an earl's insult; and in superior ways he showed it by the equivalence of really great matters in his thoughts. He was a man of affairs, but he still habitually moved in the whole of life; and to him there was a like importance in the discovery of the Americas, the consolidation of Protestant power, the growth of an English stage or even the refinement of the vernacular so as to make its broad syllables yield up their organ notes and its light vowels their flute-like move-

xiii

Intro-

ment. His influence was at all points enlivening, duction and he had Shelley's instinct for putting his first thoughts and new loves to immediate use and practice. So, though young, he expressed himself fully. In the Arcadia he unveiled his temperament, in Astrophel and Stella he laid bare his soul alike in its mortality and its immortality, and in The Defence of Poesie he gave us the clear stamp of his mind.

> This is the human and particular interest of this book, - that Sidney's mind is here. If to the common imagination of the English race he now seems a pictorial figure, a spirit moving in a remoter air, a legend of mythic beauty; if he inspires an adoring rather than an understanding attitude, this is not of necessity the case. He may be as familiarly known as any other English poet or gentleman who lives by the record of the past. If one reads only these few pages with intelligence and alertness, Sidney soon takes on solidity and definiteness of human character. The Defence is sometimes spoken of as if it were a declamation of vague feeling, a shadow and echo of Platonic aspiration, a sounding rhapsody only, or as if this quality characterized it. The light and music of Plato are in it, and in its course there does rise that wonderful English groundswell whose lofty melody is half in the thought, half in the cadence, both wedded in harmony; but though there is such an accompaniment and xiv

occasional overflow of the finer element of all Introlanguage, as in Milton likewise, the Defence to duction a mind grown familiar with its beauty is most striking for the wealth and precision of its details, the swiftness of its condensed logic, the readiness of its citation of person, fact and thought, and especially for its closeness to actual life. The touch of knightly exercises at the beginning; the range from the arentos of the South American Indians, which Sidney had heard of, to the Hungarian feast-songs, that he had been present at; the marks of Wales and Ireland, with both of which he was personally familiar; and in books-not to speak of foreign learning that he had appropriated, of the Greek which he enjoyed or the Latin which, as Languet in his good advice foresaw, he more used-his knowledge sweeps from Percy's Song and Chaucer's "antiquity" to the latest phase of what was then the elegant modernity of Euphuism, and in every case the stamp of vital experience, of personal contact, is on these literary references. His education was so good, so wisely directed, that it became true experience; his experience in turn became true education, the whole a seamless garment of life. The shirt of Nessus was not closer to the flesh than the examples, adduced in the text, and all its feeding matter of fact and authority are to the power of thought. It is this last-power of thought-that most marks the

xv

Intro-

Defence; its onward march, rapid and assured, duction is never checked, not even by those cadenced sentences of wisdom, which are foreglearns of Bacon and sometimes make the page a ridged sea of melody; "like as the waves make toward the pebbled shore," they all obey the masterflow of the intellect that streams on in its great argument.

> It is here that Sidney's Englishry stands clear of his subject. Truly he did not emancipate himself from that veneration for authority that belonged to his nature and his culture alike; but his mind did not abide in Greek or Latin, or in Italy; he brought his treasures home, and they were his servants. It is said that his matter is Italian: no thought but what may be found in a previous writer, and in fact all the thoughts of the Continent on the topic gathered in one comprehensive creed. Minturno, Fracastorio, Scaliger, -his granary is stuffed with their grain. The fact is so. The identification of his sources only shows the perfection of his preparation to write his book. But this marshalling of the whole rationally, lucidly, systematically, this exposition firm, agile, exact, like fencing, is Sidney's; he brings all to a practical end. The blend of romance and practice is racial in the English; in Sidney it was thorough, and gave his life that chivalric quality which makes him an ideal figure. The blend of criticism with practice in a similar way charac-

xvi

terizes the Defence. Just as its text is knitted of Introliving experience, and is the spectacle of a live duction mind, so its end is conjoined with life itself, and is ethical. There was no need for him to range abroad to learn this lesson. It was in the blood from which he sprang, in his English genius that ever follows this master-light. Nor can I except from his Englishry the devoutness of his mind. Here at the core of the work, in the devoutness of the author's mind and the ethical end of his discourse, are the native forces that preserved for all time in an English classic what in Italian critics and philosophers has vanished from men's memories.

The true excellency of the Defence, which is out of the range of all its other excellencies as an index of culture and a mirror of personality, is that it contains the truth about poetry. Sidney boldly put poetry in the front of all merely human power, the friend and companion of man in the virtuous way, disclosing the ideal and inciting to its accomplishment, illuminating and warming the soul at once and urging it on in its career toward that perfectness in union with which it finds its true nature. In this doctrine there was not only the traditional speculative Platonic vision; there was, as he handled it, intense moral energy. Here Sidney found the harmony between his Puritan earnestness and Italian æstheticism which is most clear in his words

xvii

about the Scriptures. The Bible was the ompha-Introduction los of Protestantism; when states shocked together, in that time, faith was the force that gave momentum to their massed armaments: men daily suffered and died throughout Europe for their religion. Sidney's devoutness of mind was not only a grace of his own soul; it was one with his earthly loyalty to crown and land. To him there was such sacredness in divine things that he passed over the notion of the inspiration of secular poetry as an expression and an idea of too doubtful reverence to be canvassed. But when he found in the Scriptures themselves the ways of poetry used to reveal and to edify, and tale and psalm and parable wearing the garment of ideal imagination, his assurance was complete; his argument was sealed with the seals of the Spirit. This faith, first put forth by him with such a fund of thought, such glow of words, such elevation, from which the calm self-possession of assured victory is never absent, has been the food of English poets to this day; in their greater works, in their brief lyrics, in their letters and familiar talk, they repeat the old words over; however they may discuss the lesser matters of topic, technique and taste, as Sidney himself did, the wellspring at the source of all is still that faith that poetry has a permission from the Maker of Heaven and Earth to approach nigh to divine ways by creation within our own world of time xviii

and sense, by an intimacy in men's bosoms to Introdraw them to the good, by the noble mastery duction belonging to essential loveliness to awake affection, imitation, realization in their lives. Forgetful of this faith, English poetry falls to lower levels of a rhetorical expertness or intellectual wit; but, when loyal, it scales all heights from the days of Sidney's own companion, Edmund Spenser, to those of Shelley, his last great disciple.

It was fortunate that a faith so exalted was put forth by one to whose character it was so becoming that its expression is his natural and easy speech. His own nobility seems to certify its truth. This serious-minded youth who was also the "rose of the fair state" was destined to so sweet and attractive a memory, to such transcendent ideality in the imagining affections of future ages, that on his lips the doctrine of the divine sanction of poetry and of its rank as the most practical of all arts is a fitting utterance. He is equal to so great a sentence without presumption. It was fortunate also for us that Sidney left, in addition to the imaginative work of still younger years, this record of his graver mind where we may approach his every-day life which is otherwise known to us only by the loving tributes of his friends, a few tasks of state worthily accomplished and one fine action. By that action, the giving of the bottle of water to the dying soldier, his mortal shape is now fig-

xix

Introured in all remembering minds; and, for readers, duction this book of The Defence of Poesie now makes most human and draws within the compass of our understanding that strong and beautiful soul, subduing all the graces of life to practical moral energy, in whom for our love and revering all England was modelled in a little clay.

G. E. W.

# THE DEFENCE OF POESIE &c.

.

.

.

,

.

•

### TO THE READER



HE stormie Winter (deere Chyldren of the Muses, which hath so long held backe the glorious Sun-shine of divine Poesie, is heere by the sacred pen-breathing words of divine Sir Phillip

Sidney, not onely chased from our fame-inviting Clyme, but utterly for ever banisht eternitie: then graciously regreet the perpetuall spring of ever-growing invention, and like kinde Babes, either enabled by wit or power, help to support me poore Midwife, whose daring adventure, hath delivered from Oblivions wombe, this ever-tobe-admired wits miracle. Those great ones, who in themselves have interr'd this blessed innocent, wil with Asculapius condemne me as a detractor from their Deities: those who Prophet-like have but heard presage of his comming, wil (if they wil doe wel) not onely defend, but praise mee, as the first publique bewrayer of Poesies Messias. Those who neither have seene, thereby to interre, nor heard, by which they might be inflamed with desire to see, let them (of duty) plead to be my Champions, sith both theyr sight and hearing, by mine incurring blame is seasoned. Excellent Poesie, (so created by this Apologie,) be thou my

To the Defendresse; and if any wound mee, let thy Reader beautie (my soules Adamant) recure mee: if anie commend mine endevored hardiment, to them commend thy most divinest fury as a winged incouragement; so shalt thou have devoted to thee, and to them obliged

Henry Olney.

## FOURE SONNETS WRITTEN BY HENRIE CONSTABLE TO SIR PHILLIP SIDNEYS SOULE

J

Give pardon (blessed Soule) to my bold cryes If they (importund) interrupt thy song, Which nowe with joyfull notes thou sing'st, among -The Angel-Quiristers of heav'nly skyes:
Give pardon eake (sweet Soule) to my slow cries, That since I saw thee now it is so long, And yet the teares that unto thee belong, To thee as yet they did not sacrifice:
I did not know that thou wert dead before, I did not feele the griefe I did susteine, "The greater stroke astonisheth the more, "Astonishment takes from us sence of paine, I stood amaz'd when others teares begun, And now begin to weepe, when they have doone.

Sweet Soule which now with heav'nly songs doost tel Thy deare Redeemers glory, and his prayse, No mervaile though thy skilfull Muse, assayes The songs of other soules there to excell: For thou didst learne to sing divinely well, Long time before thy fayre, and glittering rayes Encreas'd the light of heav'n, for even thy layes Most heavenly were, when thou on earth didst dwel: When thou didst on the earth sing Poet-wise, Angels in heav'n pray'd for thy company, And now thou sing'st with Angels in the skies, Shall not all Poets praise thy memory? And to thy name shall not their works give fame When as their works be sweetned by thy name?

Even as when great mens heires cannot agree: So ev'ry vertue now for part of thee doth sue, Courage prooves by thy death thy hart to be his due, Eloquence claimes thy tongue, and so doth courtesy,

- Invention knowledge sues, Judgment sues memory. Each saith thy head is his, and what end shall ensue Of this strife know I not, but this I know for true, That whosoever gaines the sute, the losse have wee,
- Wee, (I meane all the world) the losse to all pertaineth, Yea they which gaine doe loose, and onely thy soule gaineth,

For loosing of one life, two lives are gained then:

Honor thy courage mov'd, courage thy death did give, Death, courage, honor, makes thy soule to live,

Thy soule to live in heav'n, thy name in tongues of men.

Great Alexander then did well declare How great was his united Kingdomes might, When ev'ry Captaine of his Army might After his death with mighty Kings compare: So now we see after thy death, how far

Thou dost in worth surpasse each other Knight, When we admire him as no mortall wight, In whom the least of all thy vertues are:

One did of Macedon the King become, Another sat in the Egiptian throne, But onely Alexanders selfe had all:

So curteous some, and some be liberall, Some witty, wise, valiaunt, and learned some, But King of all the vertues thou alone.

Henry Constable.

## THE DEFENCE OF POESIE

.

•

. \_\_\_\_\_\_

•

.

·

## THE DEFENCE OF POESIE



HEN the right vertuous E. W. and I, were at the Emperours Court togither, wee gave ourselves to learne horsemanship of Jon Pietro Pugliano, one that with great commendation had

the place of an Esquire in his stable: and hee according to the fertilnes of the Italian wit, did not onely affoord us the demonstration of his practise, but sought to enrich our mindes with the contemplations therein, which he thought most precious. But with none I remember mine eares were at any time more loaden, then when (either angred with slow paiment, or mooved with our learnerlike admiration) hee exercised his speech in the praise of his facultie. He said souldiers were the noblest estate of mankind, and horsemen the noblest of souldiers. He said they were the maisters of warre, and ornaments of peace, speedie goers, and strong abiders, triumphers both in Camps and Courts: nay to so unbleeved a point he proceeded, as that no earthly thing bred such wonder to a Prince, as to be a good horseman. Skill of government was but a Pedanteria, in comparison, then would he adde certaine praises by telling what a peerlesse beast the horse was, the

Π

The De- onely serviceable Courtier without flattery, the fence of beast of most bewtie, faithfulnesse, courage, and Poesie such more, that if I had not bene a peece of a Logician before I came to him, I thinke he would have perswaded me to have wished myselfe a horse. But thus much at least, with his no few words he drave into me, that selfelove is better then any guilding, to make that seem gorgious wherin ourselves be parties. Wherin if Pulianos strong affection and weake arguments will not satisfie you, I wil give you a nearer example of myselfe, who I know not by what mischance in these my not old yeares and idlest times, having slipt into the title of a Poet, am provoked to say somthing unto you in the defence of that my unelected vocation, which if I handle with more good will, then good reasons, beare with me, since the scholler is to be pardoned that followeth the steps of his maister. And yet I must say, that as I have more just cause to make a pittifull defence of poore Poetrie, which from almost the highest estimation of learning, is falne to be the laughing stocke of children, so have I need to bring some more availeable proofes, since the former is by no man bard of his deserved credit, the silly later, hath had even the names of Philosophers used to the defacing of it, with great daunger of civill warre among the Muses. And first truly to all them that professing learning envey against Poetrie, may justly be

I 2

objected, that they go very neare to ungrateful- The Denesse, to seeke to deface that which in the no- fence of blest nations and languages that are knowne, Poesie hath bene the first light-giver to ignorance, and first nurse whose milke litle and litle enabled them to feed afterwards of tougher knowledges. And will you play the Hedge-hogge, that being received into the den, drave out his host? Or rather the Vipers, that with their birth kill their parents? Let learned Greece in any of his manifold Sciences, be able to shew me one booke before Musæus, Homer, and Hesiod, all three nothing else but Poets. Nay let any Historie bee brought, that can say any writers were there before them, if they were not men of the same skill, as Orpheus, Linus, and some other are named. who having bene the first of that country that made pennes deliverers of their knowledge to the posteritie, may justly challenge to bee called their Fathers in learning. For not onely in time they had this prioritie, (although in itselfe antiquitie be venerable) but went before them, as causes to draw with their charming sweetnesse the wild untarned wits to an admiration of knowledge. So as Amphion, was said to moove stones with his Poetry, to build Thebes, and Orpheus to be listned to by beasts, indeed stonie and beastly people. So among the Romans, were Livius, Andronicus, and Ennius, so in the Italian language, the first that made it aspire to be a

The De- treasure-house of Science, were the Poets Dante, fence of Bocace, and Petrach. So in our English, wer Gower, Poesie and Chawcer, after whom, encoraged and delighted with their excellent foregoing, others have followed to bewtify our mother toong, aswel in the same kind as other arts. This did so notably shew itself, that the Philosophers of Greece durst not a long time apear to the world, but under the mask of poets. So Thales, Empedocles, and Parmenides, sang their naturall Philosophie in verses. So did Pithagoras and Phocillides, their morall Councels. So did Tirteus in warre matters, and Solon in matters of pollicie, or rather they being Poets, did exercise their delightfull vaine in those points of highest knowledge, which before them laie hidden to the world. For, that wise Solon was directly a Poet, it is manifest, having written in verse the notable Fable of the Atlantick Iland, which was continued by Plato. And truly even Plato whosoever well considereth, shall finde that in the body of his worke though the inside and strength were Philosophie, the skin as it were and beautie, depended most of Poetrie. For all stands upon Dialogues, wherein hee faines many honest Burgesses of Athens speak of such matters, that if they had bene set on the Racke, they would never have confessed them: besides his Poeticall describing the circumstances of their meetings, as the well ordering of a banquet, the delicacie of a walke, with enterlacing meere Tales,

as Gyges Ring and others, which, who knowes The Denot to bee flowers of Poetrie, did never walke fence of into Appolos Garden. And even Historiogra- Poesie phers, although their lippes sound of things done, and veritie be written in their foreheads, have bene glad to borrow both fashion and perchance weight of the Poets. So Herodotus entituled his Historie, by the name of the nine Muses, and both he and all the rest that followed him, either stale, or usurped of Poetrie, their passionate describing of passions, the many particularities of battels which no man could affirme, or if that be denied me, long Orations put in the mouthes of great Kings and Captains, which it is certaine they never pronounced. So that truly neither Philosopher, nor Historiographer, could at the first have entered into the gates of populer judgements, if they had not taken a great pasport of Poetrie, which in all nations at this day where learning flourisheth not, is plaine to be seene: in all which, they have some feeling of Poetry. In Turkey, besides their lawgiving Divines, they have no other writers but Poets. In our neighbour Countrey Ireland, where truly learning goes verie bare, yet are their Poets held in a devout reverence. Even among the most barbarous and simple Indians, where no writing is, yet have they their Poets who make and sing songs which they call Arentos, both of their Auncestors deeds, and praises of their Gods. A sufficient probabil-

The De- ity, that if ever learning come among them, it fence of must be by having their hard dull wittes soft-Poesie ened and sharpened with the sweete delights of Poetrie, for untill they finde a pleasure in the exercise of the minde, great promises of much knowledge, wil little persuade them that know not the frutes of knowledge. In Wales, the true remnant of the auncient Brittons, as there are good authorities to shew, the long time they had Poets which they called Bardes: so thorow all the conquests of Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, some of whom, did seeke to ruine all memory of learning from among them, yet do their Poets even to this day last: so as it is not more notable in the soone beginning, then in long continuing. But since the Authors of most of our Sciences, were the Romanes, and before them the Greekes, let us a litle stand upon their authorities, but even so farre as to see what names they have given unto this now scorned skill. Among the Romanes a Poet was called Vates, which is as much as a diviner. foreseer. or Prophet, as by his conjoyned words Vaticinium. and Vaticinari, is manifest, so heavenly a title did that excellent people bestowe uppon this hart-ravishing knowledge, and so farre were they carried into the admiration thereof, that they thought in the chanceable hitting uppon any of such verses, great foretokens of their following fortunes, were placed. Whereupon grew the word of Sortes 16

Vergilianæ, when by suddaine opening Virgils The Debooke, they lighted uppon some verse of his, as fence of it is reported by many, whereof the Histories of Poesie the Emperours lives are full. As of Albinus the Governour of our Iland, who in his childhood met with this verse Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis: and in his age performed it, although it were a verie vaine and godlesse superstition, as also it was, to thinke spirits were commaunded by such verses, whereupon this word Charmes, derived of Carmina commeth: so yet serveth it to shew the great reverence those wittes were held in, and altogither not without ground, since both by the Oracles of Delphos and Sybillas prophesies, were wholly delivered in verses, for that same exquisite observing of number and measure in the words, and that high flying libertie of conceit propper to the Poet, did seeme to have some divine force in it. And may not I presume a little farther, to shewe the reasonablenesse of this word Vatis and say that the holy Davids Psalms are a divine Poeme? If I do, I shal not do it without the testimony of great learned men, both auncient and moderne. But even the name of Psalmes wil speak for me, which being interpreted, is nothing but Songs: then that it is fully written in meeter as all learned Hebritians agree, although the rules be not yet fully found. Lastly and principally, his handling his prophecie, which is

Poesie

The De- meerly Poeticall. For what else is the awaking his fence of musical Instruments, the often and free chaunging of persons, his notable Prosopopeias, when he maketh you as it were see God comming in his majestie, his telling of the beasts joyfulnesse, and hils leaping, but a heavenly poesie, wherin almost he sheweth himselfe a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting bewtie, to be seene by the eyes of the mind, onely cleered by faith? But truly now having named him, I feare I seeme to prophane that holy name, applying it to Poetry, which is among us throwne downe to so ridiculous an estimation.

> But they that with quiet judgements wil looke a litle deeper into it, shal find the end and working of it such, as being rightly applied, deserveth not to be scourged out of the Church of God. But now let us see how the Greekes have named it, and how they deemed of it. The Greekes named him  $\pi_{0i\eta}\tau_{\eta}\nu$ , which name, hath as the most excellent, gone through other languages, it commeth of this word  $\pi o \iota \epsilon i \nu$  which is to make: wherin I know not whether by luck or wisedome. we Englishmen have met with the Greekes in calling him a Maker. Which name, how high and incomparable a title it is, I had rather were knowne by marking the scope of other sciences, then by any partial allegation.

> There is no Art delivered unto mankind that hath not the workes of nature for his principall

object, without which they could not consist, and The Deon which they so depend, as they become Ac- fence of tors and Plaiers, as it were of what nature will Poesie have set forth. So doth the Astronomer looke upon the starres, and by that he seeth set downe what order nature hath taken therein. So doth the Geometritian, and Arithmititian, in their divers sorts of quantities. So doth the Musitians in times tel you, which by nature agree, which not. The natural Philosopher thereon hath his name, and the morall Philosopher standeth uppon the naturall vertues, vices, or passions of man: and follow nature saith he therein, and thou shalt not erre. The Lawier saith, what men have determined. The Historian what men have done. The Gramarian, speaketh onely of the rules of speech, and the Rhetoritian, and Logitian, considering what in nature wil soonest proove, and perswade thereon, give artificiall rules, which still are compassed within the circle of a question, according to the proposed matter. The Phisitian wayeth the nature of mans bodie, and the nature of things helpfull, or hurtfull unto it. And the Metaphisicke though it be in the second and abstract Notions, and therefore be counted supernaturall, yet doth hee indeed build upon the depth of nature. Only the Poet disdeining to be tied to any such subjection, lifted up with the vigor of his own invention, doth grow in effect into another nature: in making things either better then nature bringeth

Poesie

The De- foorth, or quite a new, formes such as never were fence of in nature: as the Heroes, Demigods, Cyclops, Chymeras, Furies, and such like; so as he goeth hand in hand with nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of hergifts, but freely raunging within the Zodiack of his owne wit. Nature never set foorth the earth in so rich Tapistry as diverse Poets have done, neither with so pleasaunt rivers, fruitfull trees, sweete smelling flowers, nor whatsoever els may make the too much loved earth more lovely: her world is brasen, the Poets only deliver a golden. But let those things alone and goe to man, for whom as the other things are, so it seemeth in him her uttermost comming is imploied: and know whether she have brought foorth so true a lover as Theagenes, so constant a friend as Pylades, so valiant a man as Orlando, so right a Prince as Xenophons Cyrus, so excellent a man every way as Virgils Aeneas. Neither let this be jestingly conceived, bicause the works of the one be essenciall, the other in imitation or fiction: for everie understanding, knoweth the skill of ech Artificer standeth in that Idea, or fore-conceit of the worke, and not in the worke itselfe. And that the Poet hath that Idea. is manifest. by delivering them foorth in such excellencie as he had imagined them: which delivering foorth, also is not wholly imaginative, as we are wont to say by them that build Castles in the aire: but so farre substancially it worketh, not onely to

make a Cyrus, which had bene but a particular The Deexcellency as nature might have done, but to fence of bestow a Cyrus upon the world to make many Poesie Cyrusses, if they will learne aright, why and how that maker made him. Neither let it be deemed too sawcy a comparison, to ballance the highest point of mans wit, with the efficacie of nature: but rather give right honor to the heavenly maker of that maker, who having made man to his owne likenes, set him beyond and over all the workes of that second nature, which in nothing he sheweth so much as in Poetry; when with the force of a divine breath, he bringeth things foorth surpassing her doings: with no small arguments to the incredulous of that first accursed fall of Adam, since our erected wit maketh us know what perfection is, and yet our infected wil keepeth us from reaching unto it. But these arguments will by few be understood, and by fewer graunted: thus much I hope wil be given me, that the Greeks with some probability of reason, gave him the name above all names of learning. Now let us goe to a more ordinarie opening of him, that the truth may be the more palpable: and so I hope though we get not so unmatched a praise as the Etimologie of his names will graunt, yet his verie description which no man will denie, shall not justly be barred from a principall commendation. Poesie therefore, is an Art of Imitation: for so Aristotle termeth it in the word

2 I

The De-  $\mu i \mu \eta \sigma is$ , that is to say, a representing, counterfence of feiting, or figuring forth to speake Metaphorically. Poesie A speaking Picture, with this end to teach and delight. Of this have bene three generall kindes, the chiefe both in antiquitie and excellencie, were they that did imitate the unconceivable excellencies of God. Such were David in his Psalmes. Salomon in his song of songs, in his Ecclesiastes and Proverbes. Moses and Debora, in their Hymnes, and the wryter of Jobe: Which beside other, the learned Emanuell Tremelius, and F. Junius, doo entitle the Poeticall part of the scripture: against these none will speake that hath the holie Ghost in due holie reverence. In this kinde, though in a full wrong divinitie, were Orpheus, Amphion, Homer in his himnes, and manie other both Greeke and Romanes. And this Poesie must be used by whosoever will follow S. Paules counsaile, in singing Psalmes when they are mery, and I knowe is used with the frute of comfort by some, when in sorrowfull panges of their death bringing sinnes, they finde the consolation of the never leaving goodnes. The second kinde, is of them that deale with matters Philosophicall, either morall as Tirteus, Phocilides, Cato; or naturall, as Lucretius, and Virgils Georgikes; or Astronomicall as Manilius, and Pontanus: or Historicall, as Lucan: which who mislike the fault, is in their judgment quite out of tast, and not in the sweet food of sweetly ut-

tered knowledge. But bicause this second sort is The Dewrapped within the folde of the proposed sub- fence of ject, and takes not the free course of his own Poesie invention, whether they properly bee Poets or no, let Gramarians dispute; and goe to the third indeed right Poets, of whom chiefly this question ariseth: betwixt whom and these second, is such a kinde of difference, as betwixt the meaner sort of Painters, who counterfeyt onely such faces as are set before them, and the more excelent, who having no law but wit, bestow that in colours upon you, which is fittest for the eye to see, as the constant, though lamenting looke of Lucretia, when shee punished in herselfe anothers faulte: wherein hee painteth not Lucretia whom he never saw, but painteth the outward bewty of such a vertue. For these third be they  $\checkmark$ which most properly do imitate to teach and delight: and to imitate, borrow nothing of what is, hath bin, or shall be, but range onely reined with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be and should be. These be they that as the first and most noble sort, may justly be termed Vates: so these are waited on in the excellentest languages and best understandings, with the fore described name of Poets. For these indeed do meerly make to imitate, and imitate both to delight and teach, and delight to move men to take that goodnesse in hand, which without delight they would flie as from a stranger;

The Defence of wherunto they are moved; which being the noblest scope to which ever any learning was directed, yet want there not idle tongues to barke at them.

> These be subdivided into sundry more speciall denominations. The most notable be the Heroick. Lyrick, Tragick, Comick, Satyrick, lambick, Elegiack, Pastorall, and certaine others: some of these being tearmed according to the matter they deale with, some by the sort of verse they liked best to write in, for indeed the greatest part of Poets, have apparelled their poeticall inventions, in that numbrous kind of writing which is called vers. Indeed but apparelled verse: being but an ornament and no cause to Poetrie, since there have bene many most excellent Poets that never versefied, and now swarme many versefiers that need never answere to the name of Poets. For Xenophon who did imitate so excellently as to give us effigiem justi imperii, the pourtraiture of a just Empyre under the name of Cyrus, as Cicero saith of him, made therein an absolute heroicall Poeme. So did Heliodorus, in his sugred invention of that picture of love in Theagenes and Chariclea, and yet both these wrote in prose, which I speake to shew, that it is not ryming and versing that maketh a Poet, (no more then a long gown maketh an Advocate, who though he pleaded in Armour, should be an Advocat

> > <sup>·</sup> 2**4**

and no souldier) but it is that faining notable The Deimages of vertues, vices, or what els, with that fence of delightfull teaching, which must be the right de- Poesie scribing note to know a Poet by. Although indeed the Senate of Poets hath chosen verse as their fittest raiment: meaning as in matter, they passed all in all, so in maner, to go beyond them: not speaking table talke fashion, or like men in a dreame, words as they chanceably fall from the mouth, but peasing each sillable of eache word by just proportion, according to the dignitie of the subject. Now therfore it shal not be amisse, first to way this latter sort of poetrie by his workes, and then by his parts, and if in neither of these Anatomies hee be condemnable, I hope we shall obteine a more favourable sentence. This purifying of wit, this enriching of memorie, enabling of judgement, and enlarging of conceit, which commonly we cal learning, under what name soever it come forth, or to what immediate end soever it be directed, the finall end is, to lead and draw us to as high a perfection, as our degenerate soules made worse by their clay-lodgings, can be capable of. This according to the inclination of man, bred many formed impressions. For some that thought this felicity principally to be gotten by knowledge, and no knowledge to be so high or heavenly, as acquaintance with the stars; gave themselves to Astronomie: others perswading themselves

The De- to be Demygods, if they knew the causes of fence of things, became naturall and supernaturall Philosophers. Some an admirable delight drew to Poesie Musicke: and some the certaintie of demonstration to the Mathematicks: but all one and other having this scope to know, and by knowledge to lift up the minde from the dungeon of the bodie, to the enjoying his owne divine essence. But when by the ballance of experience it was found, that the Astronomer looking to the stars might fall in a ditch, that the inquiring Philosopher might be blind in him self, and the Mathematician might draw forth a straight line with a crooked hart. Then lo did proofe, the overruler of opinions make manifest, that all these are but serving sciences; which as they have a private end in themselves, so yet are they all directed to the highest end of the mistresse knowledge by the Greeks [called] apyirerroving, which stands  $\mathbf{Y}$  as I thinke, in the knowledge of a mans selfe, in the Ethike and Politique consideration, with the end of well doing, and not of well knowing onely. Even as the Sadlers next ende is to make a good Saddle, but his further ende, to serve a nobler facultie, which is horsmanship, so the horsemans to souldiery: and the souldier not only to have the skill, but to performe the practise of a souldier. So that the ending end of all earthly learning, being verteous action, those skils that most serve to bring forth that, have a most just

title to be Princes over al the rest: wherin if we The Decan shew, the Poet is worthy to have it before fence of any other competitors: among whom principally Poesie to challenge it, step forth the moral Philosophers, whom me thinkes I see comming towards me, with a sullain gravitie, as though they could not abide vice by day-light, rudely cloathed, for to witnesse outwardly their contempt of outward things, with bookes in their hands against glorie, whereto they set their names: sophistically speaking against subtiltie, and angry with any man in whom they see the foule fault of anger. These men casting larges as they go of definitions, divisions, and distinctions, with a scornful interrogative, do soberly aske, whether it be possible to find any path so ready to lead a man to vertue, as that which teacheth what vertue is, and teacheth it not only by delivering forth his very being, his causes and effects, but also by making knowne his enemie vice, which must be destroyed, and his combersome servant passion, which must be mastered: by shewing the generalities that contains it, and the specialities that are derived from it. Lastly by plaine setting downe, how it extends itselfe out of the limits of a mans owne little world. to the government of families, and mainteining of publike societies. The Historian, scarsely gives leisure to the Moralist to say so much, but that he loaden with old mouse-eaten Records, authorising himselfe for the most part upon other

The De-Histories, whose greatest authorities are built fence of uppon the notable foundation Heresay, having Poesie much ado to accord differing writers, and to pick truth out of partiality: better acquainted with a thousand yeres ago, then with the present age, and yet better knowing how this world goes, then how his owne wit runnes, curious for Antiquities, and inquisitive of Novelties, a wonder to yoong folkes, and a Tyrant in table talke; denieth in a great chafe, that any man for teaching of vertue, and vertues actions, is comparable to him. I am Testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ, nuncia vetustatis. The Philosopher saith he, teacheth a disputative vertue, but I do an active. His vertue is excellent in the dangerlesse Academy of Plato: but mine sheweth forth her honourable face in the battailes of Marathon, Pharsalia, Poictiers, and Agincourt. Hee teacheth vertue by certaine abstract considerations: but I onely bid you follow the footing of them that have gone before you. Olde aged experience goeth beyond the fine witted Philosopher: but I give the experience of many ages. Lastly, if he make the song Booke, I put the learners hand to the Lute, and if he be the guide, I am the light. Then would he alleage you innumerable examples, confirming storie by stories, how much the wisest Senators and Princes, have bene directed by the credit of Historie, as Brutus, Alphonsus of Aragon,

(and who not if need be). At length, the long The Deline of their disputation makes a point in this, fence of that the one giveth the precept, and the other Poesie the example. Now whom shall we find, since the question standeth for the highest forme in the schoole of learning to be moderator? Truly  $\sqrt{1}$ as mee seemeth, the Poet, and if not a moderator, even the man that ought to carry the title from them both: and much more from all other serving sciences. Therfore compare we the Poet with the Historian, and with the morall Philosopher: and if hee goe beyond them both, no other humaine skill can match him. For as for the divine, with all reverence it is ever to be excepted. not onely for having his scope as far beyond any of these, as Eternitie exceedeth a moment: but even for passing ech of these in themselves. And for the Lawier, though Jus be the daughter of Justice, the chiefe of vertues, yet because he seeks to make men good, rather formidine pænæ, then virtutis amore: or to say righter, doth not endevor to make men good, but that their evill hurt not others: having no care so he be a good citizen, how bad a man he be. Therfore as our wickednes maketh him necessarie. and necessitie maketh him honorable, so is he not in the deepest truth to stand in ranck with these, who al endevour to take naughtinesse away, and plant goodnesse even in the secretest cabinet of our soules: and these foure are all

The De- that any way deale in the consideration of mens fence of manners, which being the supreme knowledge, Poesie they that best breed it, deserve the best commendation. The Philosopher therefore, and the Historian, are they which would win the goale, the one by precept, the other by example: but both, not having both, doo both halt. For the Philosopher setting downe with thornie arguments, the bare rule, is so hard of utterance, and so mistie to be conceived, that one that hath no other guide but him, shall wade in him till he be old, before he shall finde sufficient cause to be honest. For his knowledge standeth so upon the abstract and generall, that happie is that man who may understand him, and more happie, that can apply what he doth understand. On the other side, the Historian wanting the precept, is so tied, not to what should be, but to what is, to the particular truth of things, and not to the general reason of things, that his example draweth no necessarie consequence, and therefore a lesse fruitfull doctrine. Now doth the peerlesse Poet performe both, for whatsoever the Philosopher saith should be done, he gives a perfect picture of it by some one, by whom he presupposeth it was done, so as he coupleth the generall notion with the particuler example. A perfect picture I say, for hee yeeldeth to the powers of the minde an image of that whereof the Philosopher bestoweth but a word-

ish description, which doth neither strike, pearce, The Denor possesse, the sight of the soule so much, as fence of that other doth. For as in outward things to a Poesie man that had never seene an Elephant, or a Rinoceros, who should tell him most exquisitely all their shape, cullour, bignesse, and particuler marks, or of a gorgious pallace an Architecture, who declaring the full bewties, might well make the hearer able to repeat as it were by roat all he had heard, yet should never satisfie his inward conceit, with being witnesse to itselfe of a true lively knowledge: but the same man, as soon as he might see those beasts wel painted, or that house wel in modell, shuld straightwaies grow without need of any description, to a judicial comprehending of them, so no doubt the Philosopher with his learned definitions, be it of vertues or vices, matters of publike policy or privat government, replenisheth the memorie with many infallible grounds of wisdom, which notwithstanding lie darke before the imaginative and judging power, if they be not illuminated or figured forth by the speaking picture of Poesie. Tully taketh much paines, and many times not without Poeticall helpes to make us know the force, love of our country hath in us. Let us but heare old Anchices, speaking in the middest of Troies flames, or see Ulisses in the fulnesse of all Calipsoes delightes, bewaile his absence from barraine and beggerly Ithecae.

The De- Anger the Stoickes said, was a short madnesse: fence of let but Sophocles bring you Ajax on a stage, Poesie killing or whipping sheepe and oxen, thinking them the Army of Greekes, with their Chieftaines Agamemnon, and Menelaus: and tell me if you have not a more familiar insight into Anger, then finding in the schoolemen his Genus and Difference. See whether wisdom and temperance in Ulisses and Diomedes, valure in Achilles, friendship in Nisus and Eurialus, even to an ignorant man carry not an apparant shining: and contrarily, the remorse of conscience in Oedipus; the soone repenting pride in Agamemnon; the selfe devouring crueltie in his father Atreus; the violence of ambition in the two Theban brothers; the sower sweetnesse of revenge in Medea: and to fall lower, the Terentian Gnato, and our Chawcers Pander so exprest, that we now use their names, to signifie their Trades: And finally, all vertues, vices, and passions, so in their owne naturall states, laide to the view, that we seeme not to heare of them, but clearly to see through them. But even in the most excellent determination of goodnesse, what Philosophers counsaile can so readely direct a Prince, as the feined Cirus in Xenophon, or a vertuous man in all fortunes: as Aeneas in Virgill or a whole Common-wealth, as the Way of Sir Thomas Moores Eutopia. I say the Way, because where Sir Thomas Moore erred, it was the fault of the

man and not of the Poet: for that Way of pattern- The Deing a Common-wealth, was most absolute though fence of hee perchaunce hath not so absolutely per-Poesie formed it. For the question is, whether the fained Image of Poetrie, or the reguler instruction of Philosophie, hath the more force in teaching? Wherein if the Philosophers have more rightly shewed themselves Philosophers, then the Poets have atteined to the high toppe of their profession (as in truth Mediocribus esse poetis non Dii, non homines, non concessere columnæ), it is (I say againe) not the fault of the Art, but that by fewe men that Art can be accomplished. Certainly even our Saviour Christ could as well have given the morall commonplaces of uncharitablenesse and humblenesse, as the divine narration of Dives and Lazarus, or of disobedience and mercy, as that heavenly discourse of the lost childe and the gracious Father, but that his through searching wisedome, knew the estate of Dives burning in hell, and of Lazarus in Abrahams bosome, would more constantly as it were, inhabit both the memorie and judgement. Truly for myselfe (mee seemes) I see before mine eyes, the lost childs disdainful prodigalitie, turned to envy a Swines dinner: which by the learned Divines are thought not Historical acts, but instructing Parables. For conclusion, I say the Philosopher teacheth, but he teacheth obscurely, so as the learned onely can understand him, that is

## fen Poesie

The De- to say, he teacheth them that are alreadie taught. fence of But the Poet is the food for the tendrest stomacks, the Poet is indeed, the right populer Philosopher. Whereof Esops Tales give good proofe, whose prettie Allegories stealing under the formall Tales of beastes, makes many more beastly then beasts: begin to hear the sound of vertue from those dumbe speakers. But now may it be alleadged, that if this imagining of matters be so fit for the imagination, then must the Historian needs surpasse, who brings you images of true matters, such as indeed were done, and not such as fantastically or falsly may be suggested to have bin done. Truly Aristotle himselfe in his discourse of Poesie, plainly determineth this question, saying, that Poetrie is  $\phi_{\lambda}$  or  $\phi_{\omega} \tau \epsilon \rho[o] \nu$  and σπουδαιοτερ[o] $\nu$  that is to say, it is more Philosophicall and more studiously serious then History. His reason is, because Poesie dealeth with καθόλου, that is to say, with the universall consideration, and the Historie with Kall' éKaorov, the particular. Now saith he, the universall wayes what is fit to be said or done, either in likelihood or necessitie, which the Poesie considereth in his imposed names: and the particular onely marketh whether Alcibiades did or suffered this or that. Thus farre Aristotle. Which reason of his, as all his is most full of reason. For indeed if the question were, whether it were better to have a particular act truly or falsly set downe, there is no doubt

which is to be chosen, no more then whether The Deyou had rather have Vespacians Picture right fence of as he was, or at the Painters pleasure nothing re- Poesie sembling. But if the question be for your owne use and learning, whether it be better to have it set downe as it should be, or as it was; then certainly is more doctrinable, the fained Cyrus in Xenophon, then the true Cyrus in Justin: and the fained Aneas in Virgill, then the right Aneas in Dares Phrigius: as to a Ladie that desired to fashion her countenance to the best grace: a Painter shuld more benefite her to pourtrait a most sweete face, writing Canidia uppon it, then to paint Canidia as shee was, who Horace sweareth was full ill favoured. If the Poet do his part aright, he wil shew you in Tantalus, Atreus, and such like, nothing that is not to be shunned; in Cyrus, Aneas, Ulisses, each thing to be followed: where the Historian bound to tell things as things were, cannot be liberall, without hee will be Poeticall of a perfect patterne, but as in Alexander or Scipio himselfe, shew doings, some to be liked. some to be misliked; and then how wil you discerne what to follow, but by your own discretion, which you had without reading Q. Curtius. And whereas a man may say, though in universall consideration of doctrine, the Poet prevaileth, yet that the Historie in his saying such a thing was done, doth warrant a man more in that he shall follow. The answere is manifest.

The De- that if he stand upon that was, as if he should fence of argue, because it rained yesterday, therfore it Poesie should raine to day, then indeede hath it some advantage to a grosse conceit. But if hee knowe an example onely enformes a conjectured likelihood, and so goe by reason, the Poet doth so farre exceed him, as hee is to frame his example to that which is most reasonable, be it in warlike, politike, or private matters, where the Historian in his bare, was, hath many times that which we call fortune, to overrule the best wisedome. Manie times he must tell events, whereof he can yeeld no cause, or if he do, it must be poetically. For that a fained example hath as much force to teach, as a true example (for as for to moove, it is cleare, since the fained may be tuned to the highest key of passion) let us take one example wherein an Historian and a Poet did concurre. Herodotus and Justin doth both testifie, that Zopirus, King Darius faithful servant, seeing his maister long resisted by the rebellious Babilonians, fained himselfe in extreame disgrace of his King, for verifying of which, he caused his owne nose and eares to be cut off, and so flying to the Babylonians was received. and for his knowne valure so farre creadited. that hee did finde meanes to deliver them over to Darius. Much like matter doth Livy record of Tarquinius, and his sonne. Xenophon excellently faineth such another Stratageme, per-36

formed by Abradates in Cyrus behalfe. Now The Dewould I faine knowe, if occasion be presented fence of unto you, to serve your Prince by such an hon- Poesie est dissimulation, why you do not as well learne it of Xenophons fiction, as of the others veritie: and truly so much the better, as you shall save your nose by the bargaine. For Abradates did not counterfeyt so farre. So then the best of the Historian is subject to the Poet, for whatsoever action or faction, whatsoever counsaile, pollicie, or warre stratageme, the Historian is bounde to recite, that may the Poet if hee list with his imitation make his owne; bewtifying it both for further teaching, and more delighting as it please him: having all from Dante his heven to his hell, under the authority of his pen. Which if I be asked what Poets have don so? as I might wel name some, so yet say I, and say again, I speake of the Art and not of the Artificer. Now to that which commonly is attributed to the praise of Historie, in respect of the notable learning, is got by marking the successe, as though therein a man shuld see vertue exalted, and vice punished: truly that commendation is peculier to Poetrie, and farre off from Historie: for indeed Poetrie ever sets vertue so out in her best cullours, making fortune her well-wayting handmayd, that one must needs be enamoured of her. Well may you see Ulisses in a storme and in other hard plights, but they are but exercises

The De- of patience and magnanimitie, to make them fence of shine the more in the neare following prosperitie. And of the contrary part, if evill men come Poesie to the stage, they ever goe out (as the Tragedie writer answered to one that misliked the shew of such persons) so manicled as they litle animate folkes to follow them. But the Historie beeing captived to the trueth of a foolish world, is many times a terror from well-doing, and an encouragement to unbrideled wickednes. For see we not valiant Milciades rot in his fetters? The just Phocion and the accomplished Socrates, put to death like Traytors? The cruell Severus, live prosperously? The excellent Severus miserably murthered? Sylla and Marius dying in their beds? Pompey and Cicero slain then when they wold have thought exile a happinesse? See we not vertuous Cato driven to kill himselfe, and Rebell Cæsar so advanced, that his name yet after sixteen hundred yeares lasteth in the highest honor? And marke but even Cæsars owne words of the forenamed Sylla, (who in that onely, did honestly to put downe his dishonest Tyrannie) Litteras nesciuit: as if want of learning caused him to doo well. He ment it not by Poetrie, which not content with earthly plagues, deviseth new punishments in hell for Tyrants: nor yet by Philosophy, which teacheth Occidendos esse, but no doubt by skill in History, for that indeed can affoord you Cipselus, Periander, Phalaris, Dionisius, 38

and I know not how many more of the same The Dekennell, that speed well inough in their abhomi- fence of nable injustice of usurpation. I conclude therfore, Poesie that he excelleth historie, not onely in furnishing the minde with knowledge, but in setting it forward to that which deserves to be called and accounted good : which setting forward and moving to well doing, indeed setteth the Lawrell Crowne upon the Poets as victorious, not onely of the Historian, but over the Philosopher, howsoever in teaching it may be questionable. For suppose it be granted, that which I suppose with great reason may be denied, that the Philosopher in respect of his methodical proceeding, teach more perfectly then the Poet, yet do I thinke, that no man is so much φιλοφιλοσοφος, as to compare the Philosopher in mooving with the Poet. And that mooving is of a higher degree then teaching, it may by this appeare, that it is well nigh both the cause and effect of teaching. For who will be taught, if hee be not mooved with desire to be taught? And what so much good doth that teaching bring foorth, (I speake still of morall doctrine) as that it mooveth one to do that which it doth teach. For as Aristotle saith, it is not yvórus, but  $\pi \rho a \xi$  is must be the frute: and how  $\pi \rho a \xi is$  can be without being mooved to practise,  $\cdot$ it is no hard matter to consider. The Philosopher sheweth you the way, hee enformeth you of the particularities, as well of the tediousnes of the

Poesie

The De- way, as of the pleasaunt lodging you shall have fence of when your journey is ended, as of the many by turnings that may divert you from your way. But this is to no man but to him that will reade him. and reade him with attentive studious painfulnesse, which constant desire, whosoever hath in him, hath alreadie past halfe the hardnesse of the way: and therefore is beholding to the Philosopher, but for the other halfe. Nay truly learned men have learnedly thought, that where once reason hath so much over-mastered passion, as that the minde hath a free desire to doo well. the inward light each minde hath in itselfe, is as good as a Philosophers booke, since in Nature we know it is well, to doo well, and what is well, and what is evill, although not in the wordes of Art which Philosophers bestow uppon us: for out of naturall conceit the Philosophers drew it; but to be moved to doo that which wee know, or to be mooved with desire to know. Hoc opus, hic labor est. Now therein of all Sciences I speake still of humane (and according to the humane conceit) is our Poet the Monarch. For hee doth not onely shew the way, but giveth so sweete a prospect into the way, as will entice anie man to enter into it: Nay he doth as if your journey should 'lye through a faire vineyard, at the verie first, give you a cluster of grapes, that full of that taste, you may long to passe further. Hee beginneth not with obscure definitions, which must

blurre the margent with interpretations, and The Deloade the memorie with doubtfulnesse: but hee fence of commeth to you with words set in delightfull Poesie proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for the well enchanting skill of Musicke, and with a tale forsooth he commeth unto you, with a tale, which holdeth children from play, and olde men from the Chimney corner; and pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the minde from wickednes to vertue; even as the child is often brought to take most wholesome things by hiding them in such other as have a pleasaunt taste: which if one should begin to tell them the nature of the Alloes or Rhabarbarum they should receive, wold sooner take their phisick at their eares then at their mouth, so is it in men (most of which, are childish in the best things, til they be cradled in their graves) glad they will be to heare the tales of Hercules, Achilles, Cyrus, Æneas, and hearing them, must needes heare the right description of wisdom, value, and justice; which if they had bene barely (that is to say Philosophically) set out, they would sweare they be brought to schoole againe; that imitation whereof Poetrie is, hath the most conveniencie to nature of al other: insomuch that as Aristotle saith, those things which in themselves are horrible, as cruel battailes, unnatural monsters, are made in poeticall imitation, delightfull. Truly I have knowne men,

**4**I

Poesie

The De- that even with reading Amadis de Gaule, which fence of God knoweth, wanteth much of a perfect Poesie, have found their hearts moved to the exercise of courtesie, liberalitie, and especially courage. Who readeth Aeneas carrying old Anchises on his backe, that wisheth not it were his fortune to performe so excellent an Act? Whom doth not those words of Turnus moove (the tale of Turnus having planted his image in the imagination) fugientem hæc terra videbit? Usque adeone mori miserum est? Wher the Philosophers as they think scorne to delight, so must they be content little to moove; saving wrangling whether Virtus be the chiefe or the onely good; whether the contemplative or the active life do excell; which Plato and Boetius well knew: and therefore made mistresse Philosophie verie often borrow the masking raiment of Poesie. For even those hard hearted evill men who thinke vertue a schoole name, and know no other good but indulgere genio, and therefore despise the austere admonitions of the Philosopher, and feele not the inward reason they stand upon, yet will be content to be delighted, which is all the good fellow Poet seemes to promise; and so steale to see the form of goodnes, (which seene, they cannot but love) ere themselves be aware, as if they tooke a medicine of Cheries. Infinit proofes of the straunge effects of this Poeticall invention, might be alleaged: onely two shall serve, which

are so often remembred, as I thinke all men The Deknow them. The one of Menenius Agrippa, who fence of when the whole people of Rome had resolutely Poesie divided themselves from the Senate, with apparant shew of utter ruine, though he were for that time an excellent Orator, came not among them upon trust either of figurative speeches, or cunning insinuations, and much lesse with farre fet Maximes of Philosophie, which especially if they were Platonike, they must have learned Geometrie before they could well have conceived: but forsooth, he behaveth himselfe like a homely and familiar Poet. He telleth them a tale, that there was a time, when all the parts of the bodie made a mutinous conspiracie against the belly, which they thought devoured the frutes of each others labour: they concluded they would let so unprofitable a spender starve. In the end, to be short, for the tale is notorious, and as notorious that it was a tale, with punishing the belly they plagued themselves; this applied by him, wrought such effect in the people, as I never red, that onely words brought foorth: but then so suddaine and so good an alteration, for upon reasonable conditions, a perfect reconcilement ensued. The other is of Nathan the Prophet, who when the holie David, had so far forsaken God. as to confirme Adulterie with murther, when he was to do the tendrest office of a friend, in laying his owne shame before his eyes; sent by God

The De- to call againe so chosen a servant, how doth he fence of it? but by telling of a man whose beloved lambe Poesie was ungratefully taken from his bosome. The Application most divinely true, but the discourse itselfe fained; which made David (I speake of the second and instrumentall cause) as in a glasse see his owne filthinesse, as that heavenly Psalme of mercie well testifieth. By these therefore examples and reasons, I thinke it may be manifest, that the Poet with that same hand of delight, doth draw the mind more effectually then any other Art doth. And so a conclusion not unfitly ensue, that as vertue is the most excellent resting place for al worldly learning to make his end of, so Poetry being the most familiar to teach it, and most Princely to move towards it, in the most excellent worke, is the most excellent workeman. But I am content not onely to decipher him by his workes (although workes in commendation and dispraise, must ever hold a high authoritie) but more narrowly will examine his parts, so that (as in a man) though altogither may carrie a presence full of majestie and bewtie, perchance in some one defectuous peece we may find blemish: Now in his parts, kindes, or species, as you list to tearme them, it is to be noted, that some Poesies have coupled togither two or three kindes, as the Tragicall and Comicall, whereupon is risen the Tragicomicall, some in the maner have mingled prose and verse, as Sanazara and Boetius;

some have mingled matters Heroicall and Pasto- The Derall, but that commeth all to one in this question, fence of for if severed they be good, the conjunction can- Poesie not be hurtfull: therefore perchance forgetting some, and leaving some as needlesse to be remembred, it shall not bee amisse, in a word to cite the speciall kindes, to see what faults may be found in the right use of them. Is it then the Pastorall Poeme which is misliked? (For perchance where the hedge is lowest they will soonest leape over) is the poore pipe disdained, which somtimes out of Mœlibeus mouth, can shewe the miserie of people, under hard Lords and ravening souldiers? And again by Titerus, what blessednesse is derived, to them that lie lowest, from the goodnesse of them that sit highest? Sometimes under the prettie tales of Woolves and sheepe, can enclude the whole considerations of wrong doing and patience; sometimes shew that contentions for trifles, can get but a trifling victory wher perchance a man may see, that even Alexander and Darius, when they strave who should be Cocke of this worldes dunghill, the benefit they got, was, that the afterlivers may say, Hæc memini et victum frustra contendere Thirsim. Ex illo Coridon, Coridon est tempore nobis. Or is it the lamenting Elegiack, which in a kinde heart would moove rather pittie then blame, who bewaileth with the great Philosopher Heraclitus, the weakenesse of mankinde, and the wretchednesse

The De- of the world: who surely is to bee praised either fence of for compassionate accompanying just causes of lamentations, or for rightlie painting out how Poesie weake be the passions of wofulnesse? Is it the bitter but wholesome lambick, who rubbes the galled minde, in making shame the Trumpet of villanie, with bolde and open crying out against naughtinesse? Or the Satirick, who Omne vafer vitium ridenti tangit amico, who sportingly, never leaveth, till he make a man laugh at follie; and at length ashamed, to laugh at himself; which he cannot avoyde, without avoyding the follie? who while Circum præcordia ludit, giveth us to feele how many headaches a passionate life bringeth us to? How when all is done. Est Ulubris animus si nos non deficit æquus. No perchance it is the Comick, whom naughtie Play-makers and stagekeepers, have justly made odious. To the arguments of abuse, I will after answer, onely thus much now is to be said, that the Comedy is an imitation of the common errors of our life, which he representeth in the most ridiculous and scornfull sort that may be: so as it is impossible that any beholder can be content to be such a one. Now as in Geometrie, the oblique must be knowne as well as the right, and in Arithmetick, the odde as well as the even, so in the actions of our life, who seeth not the filthinesse of evill. wanteth a great foile to perceive the bewtie of vertue. This doth the Comcedie handle so in our

private and domesticall matters, as with hearing The Deit, we get as it were an experience what is to fence of be looked for of a niggardly Demea, of a craftie Poesie Davus, of a flattering Gnato, of a vain-glorious Thraso: and not onely to know what effects are to be expected, but to know who be such, by the signifying badge given them by the Comœdient. And litle reason hath any man to say, that men learne the evill by seeing it so set out, since as I said before, there is no man living, but by the force truth hath in nature, no sooner seeth these men play their parts, but wisheth them in Pistrinum, although perchance the sack of his owne faults lie so behinde his backe, that he seeth not himselfe to dance the same measure: wherto yet nothing can more open his eies, then to see his owne actions contemptibly set forth. So that the right use of Comœdie, will I thinke, by nobodie be blamed; and much lesse of the high and excellent Tragedie, that openeth the greatest woundes, and sheweth forth the Ulcers that are covered with Tissue, that maketh Kings feare to be Tyrants, and Tyrants manifest their tyrannicall humours, that with sturring the affects of Admiration and Comiseration, teacheth the uncertaintie of this world, and uppon how weak foundations guilden roofes are builded: that maketh us know, Qui scoeptra soevus duro imperio regit, Timet timentes, metus in authorem redit. But how much it can move, Plutarch yeeldeth

The De- way, as of the pleasaunt lodging you shall have fence of when your journey is ended, as of the many by turnings that may divert you from your way. But this is to no man but to him that will reade him, and reade him with attentive studious painfulnesse, which constant desire, whosoever hath in him, hath alreadie past halfe the hardnesse of the way: and therefore is beholding to the Philosopher, but for the other halfe. Nay truly learned men have learnedly thought, that where once reason hath so much over-mastered passion, as that the minde hath a free desire to doo well. the inward light each minde hath in itselfe, is as good as a Philosophers booke, since in Nature we know it is well, to doo well, and what is well, and what is evill, although not in the wordes of Art which Philosophers bestow uppon us: for out of naturall conceit the Philosophers drew it; but to be moved to doo that which wee know, or to be mooved with desire to know. Hoc opus, hic labor est. Now therein of all Sciences I speake still of humane (and according to the humane conceit) is our Poet the Monarch. For hee doth not onely shew the way, but giveth so sweete a prospect into the way, as will entice anie man to enter into it: Nay he doth as if your journey should 'lye through a faire vineyard, at the verie first, give you a cluster of grapes, that full of that taste, you may long to passe further. Hee beginneth not with obscure definitions, which must

blurre the margent with interpretations, and The Deloade the memorie with doubtfulnesse: but hee fence of commeth to you with words set in delightfull Poesie proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for the well enchanting skill of Musicke, and with a tale forsooth he commeth unto you, with a tale, which holdeth children from play, and olde men from the Chimney corner; and pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the minde from wickednes to vertue; even as the child is often brought to take most wholesome things by hiding them in such other as have a pleasaunt taste: which if one should begin to tell them the nature of the Alloes or Rhabarbarum they should receive, wold sooner take their phisick at their eares then at their mouth, so is it in men (most of which, are childish in the best things, til they be cradled in their graves) glad they will be to heare the tales of Hercules, Achilles, Cyrus, Æneas, and hearing them, must needes heare the right description of wisdom, value, and justice; which if they had bene barely (that is to say Philosophically) set out, they would sweare they be brought to schoole againe; that imitation whereof Poetrie is, hath the most conveniencie to nature of al other: insomuch that as Aristotle saith, those things which in themselves are horrible, as cruel battailes, unnatural monsters, are made in poeticall imitation, delightfull. Truly I have knowne men,

**4**I

The De- that even with reading Amadis de Gaule, which fence of God knoweth, wanteth much of a perfect Poesie, Poesie have found their hearts moved to the exercise of courtesie, liberalitie, and especially courage. Who readeth Aeneas carrying old Anchises on his backe, that wisheth not it were his fortune to performe so excellent an Act? Whom doth not those words of Turnus moove (the tale of Turnus having planted his image in the imagination) fugientem hæc terra videbit? Usque adeone mori miserum est? Wher the Philosophers as they think scorne to delight, so must they be content little to moove; saving wrangling whether Virtus be the chiefe or the onely good; whether the contemplative or the active life do excell; which Plato and Boetius well knew: and therefore made mistresse Philosophie verie often borrow the masking raiment of Poesie. For even those hard hearted evill men who thinke vertue a schoole name, and know no other good but indulgere genio, and therefore despise the austere admonitions of the Philosopher, and feele not the inward reason they stand upon, yet will be content to be delighted, which is all the good fellow Poet seemes to promise; and so steale to see the form of goodnes, (which seene, they cannot but love) ere themselves be aware, as if they tooke a medicine of Cheries. Infinit proofes of the straunge effects of this Poeticall invention, might be alleaged: onely two shall serve, which

are so often remembred, as I thinke all men The Deknow them. The one of Menenius Agrippa, who fence of when the whole people of Rome had resolutely Poesie divided themselves from the Senate, with apparant shew of utter ruine, though he were for that time an excellent Orator, came not among them upon trust either of figurative speeches, or cunning insinuations, and much lesse with farre fet Maximes of Philosophie, which especially if they were Platonike, they must have learned Geometrie before they could well have conceived: but forsooth, he behaveth himselfe like a homely and familiar Poet. He telleth them a tale, that there was a time, when all the parts of the bodie made a mutinous conspiracie against the belly, which they thought devoured the frutes of each others labour: they concluded they would let so unprofitable a spender starve. In the end, to be short, for the tale is notorious, and as notorious that it was a tale, with punishing the belly they plagued themselves; this applied by him, wrought such effect in the people, as I never red, that onely words brought foorth: but then so suddaine and so good an alteration, for upon reasonable conditions, a perfect reconcilement ensued. The other is of Nathan the Prophet, who when the holie David, had so far forsaken God. as to confirme Adulterie with murther, when he was to do the tendrest office of a friend, in laying his owne shame before his eyes; sent by God

The De- not onely farre passe the Historian, but for infence of structing is well nigh comparable to the Philosopher, for moving, leaveth him behind him. Since the holy scripture (wherein there is no uncleannesse) hath whole parts in it Poeticall, and that even our Savior Christ vouchsafed to use the flowers of it: since all his kindes are not onely in their united formes, but in their severed dis-. sections fully commendable, I thinke, (and thinke I thinke rightly) the Lawrell Crowne appointed for tryumphant Captaines, doth worthily of all other learnings, honour the Poets triumph.

> But bicause we have eares as well as toongs, and that the lightest reasons that may be, will seeme to waigh greatly, if nothing be put in the counterballance, let us heare, and as well as we can, ponder what objections be made against this Art, which may be woorthie either of yeelding, or answering. First truly I note, not onely in these μισομουσοι, Poet-haters, but in all that kind of people who seek a praise, by dispraising others, that they do prodigally spend a great many wandring words in quips and scoffes, carping and taunting at each thing, which by sturring the spleene, may staie the braine from a through beholding the worthinesse of the subject. Those kind of objections, as they are full of a verie idle easinesse, since there is nothing of so sacred a majestie, but that an itching toong may rub itselfe upon it, so deserve they no other answer,

but insteed of laughing at the jeast, to laugh at The Dethe jeaster. We know a playing wit can praise fence of the discretion of an Asse, the comfortablenes of Poesie being in debt, and the jolly commodities of being sicke of the plague. So of the contrary side, if we will turne Ovids verse, Ut lateat virtus, proximitate mali, that good lye hid, in nearnesse of the evill. Agrippa will be as mery in shewing the vanitie of Science, as Erasmus was in the commending of folly: neither shal any man or matter, escape some touch of these smiling Raylers. But for Erasmus and Agrippa, they had another foundation then the superficial part would promise. Marry these other pleasaunt fault-finders, who will correct the Verbe, before they understande the Nowne, and confute others knowledge, before they confirme their owne, I would have. them onely remember, that scoffing commeth not of wisedome; so as the best title in true English they get with their meriments, is to be called good fooles: for so have our grave forefathers ever tearmed that humorous kinde of jesters. But that which giveth greatest scope to their scorning humor, is ryming and versing. It is alreadie said (and as I thinke truly said) it is not ryming and versing that maketh Poesie. One may be a Poet without versing, and a versefier without Poetrie. But yet presuppose it were inseperable, as indeed it seemeth Scalliger judgeth truly, it were an inseperable commendation. For if Oratio,

<u>53</u>

The De- next to Ratio, Speech next to Reason, be the fence of greatest gift bestowed upon Mortalitie, that can-Poesie not bee praiselesse, which doth most polish that blessing of speech; which considereth each word not onely as a man may say by his forcible qualitie, but by his best measured quantity: carrying even in themselves a Harmonie, without perchance number, measure, order, proportion, be in our time growne odious. But laie aside the just praise it hath, by being the onely fit speech for Musicke, (Musicke I say the most divine striker of the senses) Thus much is undoubtedly true, that if reading be foolish without remembring, Memorie being the onely treasure of knowledge, those words which are fittest for memory, are likewise most convenient for knowledge. Now that Verse far exceedeth Prose, in the knitting up of the memorie, the reason is  $\sqrt{manifest}$ , the words (besides their delight, which hath a great affinitie to memorie) being so set as one cannot be lost, but the whole woorke failes: which accusing itselfe, calleth the remembrance back to itselfe, and so most strongly confirmeth it. Besides one word, so as it were begetting an other, as be it in rime or measured verse, by the former a man shall have a neare gesse to the follower. Lastly even they that have taught the Art of memory, have shewed nothing so apt for it, as a certaine roome divided into many places, well and throughly knowne: Now that hath the verse

in effect perfectly, everie word having his natural The Deseat, which seat must needs make the word re- fence of membred. But what needes more in a thing so Poesie knowne to all men. Who is it that ever was scholler, that doth not carry away som verses of Virgil, Horace, or Cato, which in his youth hee learned, and even to his old age serve him for hourely lessons; as Percontatorem fugito nam garrulus idem est, Dum tibi quisque; placet credula turba sumas. But the fitness it hath for memorie, is notably prooved by all deliverie of Arts, wherein for the most part, from Grammer, to Logick, Mathematickes, Phisick, and the rest, the Rules chiefly necessarie to be borne away, are compiled in verses. So that verse being in itselfe sweet and orderly, and being best for memorie, the onely handle of knowledge, it must be in jest that any man can speak against it. Now then goe we to the most important imputations laid to the poore Poets, for ought I can yet learne, they are these. First, that there beeing manie other more frutefull knowledges, a man might better spend his time in them, then in this. Secondly, that it is the mother of lyes. Thirdly, that it is the nurse of abuse, infecting us with many pestilent desires, with a Sirens sweetnesse, drawing the minde to the Serpents taile of sinfull fansies; and herein especially Comedies give the largest field to eare, as Chawcer saith, how both in other nations and in ours. before Poets did soften us,

The De- we were full of courage given to martial exerfence of cises, the pillers of manlike libertie, and not lulled asleepe in shadie idlenes, with Poets pastimes. And lastly and chiefly, they cry out with open mouth as if they had overshot Robin-hood, that Plato banished them out of his Commonwealth. Truly this is much, if there be much truth in it. First to the first. That a man might better spend his time, is a reason indeed: but it doth as they say, but petere principium. For if it be, as I affirme, that no learning is so good, as that which teacheth and moveth to vertue, and that none can both teach and move thereto so much as Poesie, then is the conclusion manifest; that incke and paper cannot be to a more profitable purpose imployed. And certainly though a man should graunt their first assumption, it should follow (mee thinks) very unwillingly, that good is not good, because better is better. But I still and utterly deny, that there is sprungout of earth a more fruitfull knowledge. To the second therfore, that they should be the principall lyers, I answere Paradoxically, but truly, I think truly: that of all writers under the Sunne, the Poet is the least lyer: and though he wold, as a Poet can scarcely be a lyer. The Astronomer with his cousin the Geometrician, can hardly escape, when they take upon them to measure the height of the starres. How often, thinke you do the Phisitians lie, when they averre things good for sicknesses, which

afterwards'send Charon a great number of soules The Dedrownd in a potion, before they come to his fence of Ferrie? And no lesse of the rest, which take upon Poesie them to affirme. Now for the Poet, he nothing affirmeth, and therefore never lieth: for as I take it, to lie, is to affirme that to bee true, which is false. So as the other Artistes, and especially the Historian, affirming manie things, can in the clowdie knowledge of mankinde, hardly escape from manie lies. But the Poet as I said before, never affirmeth, the Poet never maketh any Circles about ✓ your imagination, to conjure you to beleeve for true, what he writeth: he citeth not authorities of other histories, but even for his entrie, calleth the sweete Muses to inspire unto him a good invention. In troth, not laboring to tel you what is, or is not, but what should, or should not be. And therefore though he recount things not true, yet because he telleth them not for true, he lieth not: without we will say, that Nathan lied in his speech before alleaged to David, which as a wicked man durst scarce say, so think I none so simple, wold say, that Esope lied, in the tales of his beasts: for who thinketh that Esope wrote it for actually true, were wel worthie to have his name Cronicled among the beasts he writeth of. What childe is there, that comming to a play, and seeing Thebes written in great letters upon an old doore, doth beleeve that it is Thebes? If then a man can arrive to the childes age, to know that

The De- the Poets persons and dooings, are but pictures, fence of what should be, and not stories what have bin, they will never give the lie to things not Affirmatively, but Allegorically and figurativelie written; and therefore as in historie looking for truth, they may go away full fraught with falshood: So in Poesie, looking but for fiction, they shall use the narration but as an imaginative groundplat of a profitable invention. But hereto is replied, that the Poets give names to men they write of, which argueth a conceit of an actuall truth, and so not being true, prooveth a falshood. And dooth the Lawier lye, then when under the names of John of the Stile and John of the Nokes, hee putteth his Case? But that is easily answered, their naming of men, is but to make their picture the more lively, and not to build anie Historie. Painting men, they cannot leave men namelesse: wee see, wee cannot plaie at Chesse, but that wee must give names to our Chessemen; and yet mee thinkes he were a verie partiall Champion of truth, that would say wee lyed, for giving a peece of wood the reverende title of a Bishop. The Poet nameth Cyrus and Aneas, no other way then to shewe what men of their fames, fortunes. and estates, should doo. Their third is, how much it abuseth mens wit, training it to wanton sinfulnesse, and lustfull love. For indeed that is the principall if not onely abuse, I can heare alleadged. They say the Comedies rather teach then repre-

hend amorous conceits. They say the Lirick, is The Delarded with passionat Sonets, the Elegiack weeps fence of the want of his mistresse, and that even to the Poesie Heroical, Cupid hath ambitiously climed. Alas Love, I would thou couldest as wel defend thyselfe, as thou canst offend others: I would those on whom thou doest attend, could either put thee away, or yeeld good reason why they keepe thee. But grant love of bewtie to be a beastly fault, although it be verie hard, since onely man and no beast hath that gift to discerne bewtie, graunt, that lovely name of love to deserve all hatefull reproches, although even some of my maisters the Philosophers spent a good deale of their Lamp-oyle in setting foorth the excellencie of it, graunt I say, what they will have graunted, that not onelie love, but lust, but vanitie, but if they list scurrilitie, possesse manie leaves of the Poets bookes, yet thinke I, when this is graunted, they will finde their sentence may with good manners put the last words foremost; and not say,  $\checkmark$ that Poetrie abuseth mans wit, but that mans wit abuseth Poetrie. For I will not denie, but that mans wit may make Poesie, which should be Eiraotiky, which some learned have defined figuring foorth good thing to be  $\phi a \nu \tau a \sigma \tau \iota \kappa \eta$ , which doth contrariwise infect the fancie with unwoorthie objects, as the Paintershould give to the eye either some excellent perspective, or some fine Picture fit for building or fortification, or

The De- containing in it some notable example, as Abrafence of ham sacrificing his sonne Isaack, Judith killing Poesie Holofernes, David fighting with Golias, may leave those, and please an ill pleased eye with wanton shewes of better hidden matters. But what, shal the abuse of a thing, make the right use odious? Nay truly though I yeeld, that Poesie may not onely be abused, but that being abused by the reason of his sweete charming force, it can do more hurt then anie other armie of words: yet shall it be so farre from concluding, that the abuse should give reproach to the abused, that contrariwise, it is a good reason, that whatsoever being abused, doth most harme, being rightly used (and upon the right use, ech thing receives histitle) doth most good. Do we not see skill of Phisicke the best ramper to our often assaulted bodies, being abused, teach poyson the most violent destroyer? Doth not knowledge of Law, whose end is, to even and right all things, being abused, grow the crooked fosterer of horrible injuries? Doth not (to go to the highest) Gods word abused, breede heresie, and his name abused, become blasphemie? Truly a Needle cannot do much hurt, and as truly (with leave of Ladies be it spoken) it cannot do much good. With a swoord thou maist kill thy Father, and with a swoord thou maist defende thy Prince and Countrey: so that, as in their calling Poets, fathers of lies, they said nothing, so in this their argument of abuse, they

proove the commendation. They alledge here- The Dewith, that before Poets began to be in price, our fence of Nation hath set their hearts delight uppon ac- Poesie tion, and not imagination, rather doing things worthie to be written, then writing things fit do be done. What that before time was, I think scarcely Spinx can tell: since no memerie is so ancient, that hath not the precedens of Poetrie. And certain it is, that in our plainest homelines, yet never was the Albion Nation without Poetrie. Marry this Argument, though it be leviled against Poetrie, yet is it indeed a chain-shot against all learning or bookishnes, as they commonly terme it. Of such mind were certaine Gothes, of whom it is written, that having in the spoile of a famous Cittie, taken a faire Librarie, one hangman belike fit to execute the frutes of their wits, who had murthered a great number of bodies, woulde have set fire in it. No said another verie gravely, take heed what you do, for while they are busie about those toyes, wee shall with more leisure conquere their Countries. This indeed is the ordinarie doctrine of ignorance, and many words sometimes I have heard spent in it: but bicause this reason is generally against al learning, as wel as Poetrie, or rather all learning but Poetrie, because it were too large a digression to handle it, or at least too superfluous, since it is manifest that all government of action is to be gotten by knowledge, and knowledge best, by gathering manie

The De- knowledges, which is reading; I onely with Hofence of race, to him that is of that opinion, Jubeo stultum Poesie esse libenter: for as for Poetrie itselfe, it is the freest from this objection: for Poetrie is the Companion of Camps. I dare undertake, Orlando Furioso, or honest king Arthure, will never displease a souldier: but the guidditie of Ens, and Prima materia, will hardly agree with a Corcelet. And therefore as I said in the beginning, even Turkes and Tartars, are delighted with Poets. Homer a Greeke, flourished, before Greece flourished: and if to a slight conjecture, a conjecture may bee apposed, truly it may seem, that as by him their learned men tooke almost their first light of knowledge, so their active men, received their first motions of courage. Onely Alexanders example may serve, who by Plutarche is accounted of such vertue, that fortune was not his guide, but his footestoole, whose Acts speake for him, though Plutarche did not: indeede the Phœnix of warlike Princes. This Alexander, left his Schoolemaister living Aristotle behinde him, but tooke dead Homer with him. Hee put the Philosopher Callisthenes to death, for his seeming Philosophicall, indeed mutinous stubbornnesse, but the chiefe thing hee was ever heard to wish for, was, that Homer had bene alive. Hee well founde hee received more braverie of minde by the paterne of Achilles, then by hearing the definition of fortitude. And therefore, if Cato mis-

liked Fulvius, for carrying Ennius with him to the The Defield, it may be answered, that if Cato misliked fence of it, the Noble Fulvius liked it, or else he had not Poesie done it: for it was not the excellent Cato Uticencis. whose authoritie I would much more have reverenced: But it was the former, in truth a bitter punisher of faultes, but else a man that had never sacrificed to the Graces. Hee misliked and cried out against all Greeke learning, and yet being fourescore yeares olde beganne to learne it, belike fearing that Pluto understood not Latine. Indeed the Romane lawes allowed no person to bee carried to the warres, but hee that was in the souldiers Role. And therefore though Cato misliked his unmustred person, he misliked not his worke. And if hee had, Scipio Nasica (judged by common consent the best Romane) loved him: both the other Scipio brothers, who had by their vertues no lesse surnames then of Asia and Affricke, so loved him, that they caused his bodie to be buried in their Sepulture. So as Catoes authoritie beeing but against his person, and that answered with so farre greater then himselfe, is herein of no validitie. But now indeede my burthen is great, that Plato his name is laide uppon mee, whom I must confesse of all Philosophers, I have ever esteemed most worthie of reverence; and with good reason, since of all Philosophers hee is the most Poeticall: yet if hee will defile the fountaine out of which his flowing

The De- streames have proceeded, let us boldly examine fence of with what reasons hee did it. First truly a man might maliciously object, that Plato being a Philosopher, was a naturall enemy of Poets. For indeede after the Philosophers had picked out of the sweete misteries of Poetrie, the right discerning true points of knowledge: they foorthwith putting it in methode, and making a Schoole Art of that which the Poets did onely teach by a divine delightfulnes, beginning to spurne at their guides, like ungratefull Prentices, were not content to set up shop for themselves, but sought by all meanes to discredit their maisters, which by the force of delight being barred them, the lesse they could overthrow them, the more they hated them. For indeed they found for Homer, seven Cities strave who should have him for their Cittizen, where many Cities banished Philosophers, as not fit members to live among them. For onely repeating certaine of Euripides verses, many Atheniens had their lives saved of the Siracusans. where the Atheniens themselves thought many Philosophers unworthie to live. Certaine Poets, as Simonides, and Pindarus, had so prevailed with Hiero the first, that of a Tyrant they made him a just King: where Plato could do so little with Dionisius, that he himselfe of a Philosopher, was made a slave. But who should do thus, I confesse should requite the objections made against Poets, with like cavillations against Philosophers:

as likewise one should do, that should bid one read The De-Phædrus, or Symposium in Plato, or the discourse fence of of love in Plutarch, and see whether any Poet do Poesie authorise abhominable filthinesse as they doo. Againe, a man might aske, out of what Commonwealth Plato doth banish them, in sooth, thence where he himselfe alloweth communitie of women. So as belike this banishment grew not for effeminate wantonnesse, since little should Poeticall Sonnets be hurtful, when a man might have what woman he listed. But I honor Philosophicall instructions, and blesse the wits which bred them: so as they be not a bused, which is likewise stretched to Poetrie. S. Paul himselfe sets a watch-word uppon Philosophie, indeed uppon the abuse. So doth Plato uppon the abuse, not upon Poetrie. Plato found fault that the Poettes of his time. filled the worlde with wrong opinions of the Gods, making light tales of that unspotted essence; and therfore wold not have the youth depraved with such opinions: heerein may much be said; let this suffice. The Poets did not induce such opinions, but did imitate those opinions alreadie induced. For all the Greeke stories can well testifie, that the verie religion of that time, stood upon many, and many fashioned Gods: Not taught so by Poets, but followed according to their nature of imitation. Who list may read in Plutarch, the discourses of Isis and Osiris, of the cause why Oracles ceased, of the divine providence, and

The De- see whether the Theology of that nation, stood fence of not upon such dreams, which the Poets indeede Poesie superstitiously observed. And truly since they had not the light of Christ, did much better in it, then the Philosophers, who shaking off superstition, brought in Atheisme. Plato therefore, whose authoritie, I had much rather justly construe, then unjustly resist: ment not in generall of Poets, in those words of which Julius Scaliger saith; Qua authoritate barbari quidam atque hispidi abuti velint ad poetas è rep. Exigendos. But only ment, to drive out those wrong opinions of the Deitie: wherof now without further law, Christianitie hath taken away all the hurtful beliefe, perchance as he thought nourished by then esteemed Poets. And a man need go no further then to Plato himselfe to knowe his meaning: who in his Dialogue called Ion, giveth high, and rightly, divine commendation unto Poetrie. So as Plato banishing the abuse, not the thing, not banishing it, but giving due honour to it, shall be our Patron, and not our adversarie. For indeed, I had much rather, since truly I may do it, shew their mistaking of Plato, under whose Lyons skinne, they would make an Aslike braying against Poesie, then go about to overthrow his authoritie; whom the wiser a man is, the more just cause he shall finde to have in admiration: especially since he attributeth unto Poesie, more then myselfe do; namely, to be a verie inspiring of a divine force,

farre above mans wit, as in the forenamed Dia- The Delogue is apparant. Of the other side, who would fence of shew the honours have bene by the best sort of Poesie judgements graunted them, a whole sea of examples would present themselves; Alexanders, Cæsars, Scipioes, all favourers of Poets: Lœlius, called the Romane Socrates himselfe a Poet: so as part of Heautontimoroumenon in Terence, was supposed to bee made by him. And even the Greeke Socrates, whome Appollo confirmed to be the onely wise man, is said to have spent part of his olde time in putting Esopes Fables into verses. And therefore full evill should it become his scholler Plato, to put such words in his maisters mouth against Poets But what needs more? Aristotle writes the Arte of Poesie, and why, if it should not bee written? Plutarche teacheth the use to bee gathered of them, and how, if they should not bee reade? And who reades Plutarches either Historie or Philosophie, shall finde hee trimmeth both their garments with gardes of Poesie. But I list not to defend Poesie with the helpe of his underling Historiographie. Let it suffice to have shewed, it is a fit soyle for praise to dwell uppon: and what dispraise may set uppon it, is either easily overcome, or transformed into just commendation. So that since the excellencies of it, may bee so easily and so justly confirmed, and the lowe creeping objections so soone trodden downe, it not beeing an Art of

The De- lyes, but of true doctrine; not of efforminatefence of nesse, but of notable stirring of courage; not of abusing mans wit, but of strengthening mans wit; not banished, but honored by Plato; Let us rather plant more Lawrels for to ingarland the Poets heads (which honor of being Lawreate, as besides them onely triumphant Captaines were, is a sufficient authoritie to shewe the price they ought to bee held in) then suffer the ill savoured breath of such wrong speakers once to blow uppon the cleare springs of Poesie. But since I have runne so long a Carrier in this matter, me thinkes before I give my penne a full stoppe, it shall be but a litle more lost time, to enquire why England the Mother of excellent mindes should be growne so hard a stepmother to Poets, who certainely in wit ought to passe all others, since all onely proceedes from their with, beeing indeed makers of themselves, not takers of others. How can I but exclaime, Musa mihi causas memora quo numine læso, Sweete Poesie that hath aunciently had Kings, Emperours, Senatours, great Captaines, such as besides a thousandes others, David, Adrian, Sophocles, Germanicus, not onelie to favour Poets, but to bee Poets: and of our nearer times. can present for her Patrons, a Robert, King of Scicill, the great King Fraunces of Fraunce, King James of Scotland; such Cardinalls as Bembus, and Bibiena: suche famous Preachers and Teachers, as Beza and Melanchthon; so learned Philosophers,

as Fracastorius, and Scaliger; so great Orators. The Deas Pontanus, and Muretus; so pearcing wits, as fence of George Buchanan; so grave Counsailours, as be- Poesie sides manie, but before all, that Hospitall of Fraunce; then whome I thinke that Realme never brought forth a more accomplished judgement, more firmly builded upon vertue: I say these with numbers of others, not onely to read others Poesies, but to poetise for others reading; that Poesie thus embraced in all other places, should onely finde in our time a hard welcome in England. I thinke the verie earth laments it, and therefore deckes our soyle with fewer Lawrels then it was accustomed. For heretofore, Poets have in England also flourished: and which is to be noted, even in those times when the Trumpet of Mars did sound lowdest. And now that an overfaint quietnesse should seeme to strowe the house for Poets, they are almost in as good reputation, as the Mountebanckes at Venice. Truly even that, as of the one side it giveth great praise to Poesie, which like Venus (but to better purpose) hath rather be troubled in the net with Mars, then enjoy the homely quiet of Vulcan. So serveth it for a peece of a reason, why they are lesse gratefull to idle England, which now can scarce endure the paine of a penne. Upon this necessarily followeth, that base men with servill wits undertake it, who thinke it inough if they can be rewarded of the Printer: and so as Epaminandas is said with

The De- the honor of his vertue to have made an Office. fence of by his exercising it, which before was contemti-Poesie ble, to become highly respected: so these men no more but setting their names to it, by their own disgracefulnesse, disgrace the most gracefull Poesie. For now as if all the Muses were got with childe, to bring forth bastard Poets: without any commission, they do passe over the Bankes of Helicon, till they make the Readers more wearie then Post-horses: while in the mean time, they Queis meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan, are better content to suppresse the out-flowings of their wit, then by publishing them, to be accounted Knights of the same order. But I that before ever I durst aspire unto the dignitie, am admitted into the companie of the Paper-blurrers, do finde the verie true cause of our wanting estimation, is want of desert, taking uppon us to be Poets, in despite of Pallas. Now wherein we want desert, were a thankwoorthie labour to expresse. But if I knew I should have mended myselfe, but as I never desired the title, so have I neglected the meanes to come by it, onely over-mastered by some thoughts, I yeelded an inckie tribute unto them. Marrie they that delight in Poesie itselfe, should seek to know what they do, and how they do: and especially looke themselves in an unflattering glasse of reason, if they be enclinable unto it. For Poesie must not be drawne by the eares, it must be gently led, or rather it must lead, which 70

was partly the cause, that made the auncient The Delearned affirme, it was a divine gift and no hu- fence of mane skil: since all other knowledges lie readie for Poesie anie that have strength of wit: A Poet no industrie can make, if his owne Genius be not carried into it. And therefore is an old Proverbe, Orator fit. Poeta nascitur. Yet confesse I alwaies, that as the fertilest ground must be manured, so must the highest flying wit have a Dedalus to guide him. That Dedalus they say both in this and in other, hath three wings to beare itselfe up into the aire of due commendation: that is Art, Imitation, and Exercise. But these neither Artificiall Rules. nor imitative paternes, we much comber ourselves withall. Exercise indeed we do, but that verie fore-back-wardly; for where we should exercise to know, we exercise as having knowne: and so is our braine delivered of much matter, which never was begotten by knowledge. For there being two principall parts, Matter to be expressed by words, and words to expresse the matter: In neither, wee use Art or imitation rightly. Our matter is, Quodlibet, indeed though wrongly performing, Ovids Verse. Quicquid conabor dicere Versus erit: never marshalling it into anie assured ranck, that almost the Readers cannot tell where to finde themselves. Chawcer undoubtedly did excellently in his Troilus and Creseid: of whome trulie I knowe not whether to mervaile more, either that hee in that mistie time could see

7I

The De- streames have proceeded, let us boldly examine fence of with what reasons hee did it. First truly a man might maliciously object, that Plato being a Philosopher, was a naturall enemy of Poets. For indeede after the Philosophers had picked out of the sweete misteries of Poetrie, the right discerning true points of knowledge: they foorthwith putting it in methode, and making a Schoole Art of that which the Poets did onely teach by a divine delightfulnes, beginning to spurne at their guides, like ungratefull Prentices, were not content to set up shop for themselves, but sought by all meanes to discredit their maisters, which by the force of delight being barred them, the lesse they could overthrow them, the more they hated them. For indeed they found for Homer, seven Cities strave who should have him for their Cittizen, where many Cities banished Philosophers, as not fit members to live among them. For onely repeating certaine of Euripides verses, many Atheniens had their lives saved of the Siracusans. where the Atheniens themselves thought many Philosophers unworthie to live. Certaine Poets, as Simonides, and Pindarus, had so prevailed with Hiero the first, that of a Tyrant they made him a just King: where Plato could do so little with Dionisius, that he himselfe of a Philosopher, was made a slave. But who should do thus, I confesse should requite the objections made against Poets, with like cavillations against Philosophers:

as likewise one should do, that should bid one read The De-Phædrus, or Symposium in Plato, or the discourse fence of of love in Plutarch, and see whether any Poet do Poesie authorise abhominable filthinesse as they doo. Againe, a man might aske, out of what Commonwealth Plato doth banish them, in sooth, thence where he himselfe alloweth communitie of women. So as belike this banishment grew not for effeminate wantonnesse, since little should Poeticall Sonnets be hurtful, when a man might have what woman he listed. But I honor Philosophicall instructions, and blesse the wits which bred them: so as they be not a bused, which is likewise stretched to Poetrie. S. Paul himselfe sets a watch-word uppon Philosophie, indeed uppon the abuse. So doth Plato uppon the abuse, not upon Poetrie. Plato found fault that the Poettes of his time, filled the worlde with wrong opinions of the Gods, making light tales of that unspotted essence; and therfore wold not have the youth depraved with such opinions: heerein may much be said; let this suffice. The Poets did not induce such opinions, but did imitate those opinions alreadie induced. For all the Greeke stories can well testifie, that the verie religion of that time, stood upon many, and many fashioned Gods: Not taught so by Poets, but followed according to their nature of imitation. Who list may read in Plutarch, the discourses of Isis and Osiris, of the cause why Oracles ceased, of the divine providence, and

The De- streames have proceeded, let us boldly examine fence of with what reasons hee did it. First truly a man might maliciously object, that Plato being a Philosopher, was a naturall enemy of Poets. For indeede after the Philosophers had picked out of the sweete misteries of Poetrie, the right discerning true points of knowledge: they foorthwith putting it in methode, and making a Schoole Art of that which the Poets did onely teach by a divine delightfulnes, beginning to spurne at their guides, like ungratefull Prentices, were not content to set up shop for themselves, but sought by all meanes to discredit their maisters, which by the force of delight being barred them, the lesse they could overthrow them, the more they hated them. For indeed they found for Homer, seven Cities strave who should have him for their Cittizen, where many Cities banished Philosophers, as not fit members to live among them. For onely repeating certaine of Euripides verses, many Atheniens had their lives saved of the Siracusans. where the Atheniens themselves thought many Philosophers unworthie to live. Certaine Poets, as Simonides, and Pindarus, had so prevailed with Hiero the first, that of a Tyrant they made him a just King: where Plato could do so little with Dionisius, that he himselfe of a Philosopher, was made a slave. But who should do thus, I confesse should requite the objections made against Poets, with like cavillations against Philosophers:

farre above mans wit, as in the forenamed Dia- The Delogue is apparant. Of the other side, who would fence of shew the honours have bene by the best sort of Poesie judgements graunted them, a whole sea of examples woulde present themselves; Alexanders, Cæsars, Scipioes, all favourers of Poets: Lœlius, called the Romane Socrates himselfe a Poet: so as part of Heautontimoroumenon in Terence, was supposed to bee made by him. And even the Greeke Socrates, whome Appollo confirmed to be the onely wise man, is said to have spent part of his olde time in putting Esopes Fables into verses. And therefore full evill should it become his scholler Plato, to put such words in his maisters mouth against Poets But what needs more? Aristotle writes the Arte of Poesie, and why, if it should not bee written? Plutarche teacheth the use to bee gathered of them, and how, if they should not bee reade? And who reades Plutarches either Historie or Philosophie, shall finde hee trimmeth both their garments with gardes of Poesie. But I list not to defend Poesie with the helpe of his underling Historiographie. Let it suffice to have shewed, it is a fit soyle for praise to dwell uppon: and what dispraise may set uppon it, is either easily overcome, or transformed into just commendation. So that since the excellencies of it, may bee so easily and so justly confirmed, and the lowe creeping objections so soone trodden downe, it not beeing an Art of

The De- see whether the Theology of that nation, stood fence of not upon such dreams, which the Poets indeede superstitiously observed. And truly since they Poesie had not the light of Christ, did much better in it, then the Philosophers, who shaking off superstition, brought in Atheisme. Plato therefore, whose authoritie, I had much rather justly construe, then unjustly resist: ment not in generall of Poets, in those words of which Julius Scaliger saith; Qua authoritate barbari quidam atque hispidi abuti velint ad poetas è rep. Exigendos. But only ment, to drive out those wrong opinions of the Deitie: wherof now without further law. Christianitie hath taken away all the hurtful beliefe, perchance as he thought nourished by then esteemed Poets. And a man need go no further then to Plato himselfe to knowe his meaning: who in his Dialogue called lon, giveth high, and rightly, divine commendation unto Poetrie. So as Plato banishing the abuse, not the thing, not banishing it, but giving due honour to it, shall be our Patron, and not our adversarie. For indeed, I had much rather, since truly I may do it, shew their mistaking of Plato, under whose Lyons skinne, they would make an Aslike braying against Poesie, then go about to overthrow his authoritie; whom the wiser a man is, the more just cause he shall finde to have in admiration: especially since he attributeth unto Poesie, more then myselfe do; namely, to be a verie inspiring of a divine force,

farre above mans wit, as in the forenamed Dia- The Delogue is apparant. Of the other side, who would fence of shew the honours have bene by the best sort of Poesie judgements graunted them, a whole sea of examples woulde present themselves; Alexanders, Cæsars, Scipioes, all favourers of Poets: Lœlius, called the Romane Socrates himselfe a Poet; so as part of Heautontimoroumenon in Terence, was supposed to bee made by him. And even the Greeke Socrates, whome Appollo confirmed to be the onely wise man, is said to have spent part of his olde time in putting Esopes Fables into verses. And therefore full evill should it become his scholler Plato, to put such words in his maisters mouth against Poets But what needs more? Aristotle writes the Arte of Poesie, and why, if it should not bee written? Plutarche teacheth the use to bee gathered of them, and how, if they should not bee reade? And who reades Plutarches either Historie or Philosophie, shall finde hee trimmeth both their garments with gardes of Poesie. But I list not to defend Poesie with the helpe of his underling Historiographie. Let it suffice to have shewed, it is a fit soyle for praise to dwell uppon: and what dispraise may set uppon it, is either easily overcome, or transformed into just commendation. So that since the excellencies of it, may bee so easily and so justly confirmed, and the lowe creeping objections so soone trodden downe, it not beeing an Art of

The De-lyes, but of true doctrine; not of effœminatefence of nesse, but of notable stirring of courage; not of Poesie abusing mans wit, but of strengthening mans wit; not banished, but honored by Plato; Let us rather plant more Lawrels for to ingarland the Poets heads (which honor of being Lawreate, as besides them onely triumphant Captaines were, is a sufficient authoritie to shewe the price they ought to bee held in) then suffer the ill savoured breath of such wrong speakers once to blow uppon the cleare springs of Poesie. But since I have runne so long a Carrier in this matter, me thinkes before I give my penne a full stoppe, it shall be but a litle more lost time, to enquire why England the Mother of excellent mindes should be growne so hard a stepmother to Poets, who certainely in wit ought to passe all others, since all onely proceedes from their with, beeing indeed makers of themselves, not takers of others. How can I but exclaime, Musa mihi causas memora quo numine læso, Sweete Poesie that hath aunciently had Kings, Emperours, Senatours, great Captaines, such as besides a thousandes others, David, Adrian, Sophocles, Germanicus, not onelie to favour Poets, but to bee Poets: and of our nearer times. can present for her Patrons, a Robert, King of Scicill, the great King Fraunces of Fraunce, King Iames of Scotland: such Cardinalls as Bembus, and Bibiena: suche famous Preachers and Teachers.as Beza and Melanchthon; so learned Philosophers,

as Fracastorius, and Scaliger; so great Orators, The Deas Pontanus, and Muretus; so pearcing wits, as fence of George Buchanan; so grave Counsailours, as be- Poesie sides manie, but before all, that Hospitall of Fraunce: then whome I thinke that Realme never brought forth a more accomplished judgement, more firmly builded upon vertue: I say these with numbers of others, not onely to read others Poesies, but to poetise for others reading: that Poesie thus embraced in all other places, should onely finde in our time a hard welcome in England. I thinke the verie earth laments it, and therefore deckes our soyle with fewer Lawrels then it was accustomed. For heretofore. Poets have in England also flourished: and which is to be noted. even in those times when the Trumpet of Mars did sound lowdest. And now that an overfaint quietnesse should seeme to strowe the house for Poets, they are almost in as good reputation, as the Mountebanckes at Venice. Truly even that, as of the one side it giveth great praise to Poesie, which like Venus (but to better purpose) hath rather be troubled in the net with Mars, then enjoy the homely quiet of Vulcan. So serveth it for a peece of a reason, why they are lesse gratefull to idle England, which now can scarce endure the paine of a penne. Upon this necessarily fol-  $\sqrt{}$ loweth, that base men with servill wits undertake it, who thinke it inough if they can be rewarded of the Printer: and so as Epaminandas is said with

The De- the honor of his vertue to have made an Office. fence of by his exercising it, which before was contemti-Poesie ble, to become highly respected: so these men no more but setting their names to it, by their own disgracefulnesse, disgrace the most gracefull Poesie. For now as if all the Muses were got with childe, to bring forth bastard Poets: without any commission, they do passe over the Bankes of Helicon, till they make the Readers more wearie then Post-horses: while in the mean time, they Queis meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan, are better content to suppresse the out-flowings of their wit, then by publishing them, to be accounted Knights of the same order. But I that before ever I durst aspire unto the dignitie, am admitted into the companie of the Paper-blurrers, do finde the verie true cause of our wanting estimation, is want of desert, taking uppon us to be Poets, in despite of Pallas. Now wherein we want desert, were a thankwoorthie labour to expresse. But if I knew I should have mended myselfe, but as I never desired the title, so have I neglected the meanes to come by it, onely over-mastered by some thoughts, I yeelded an inckie tribute unto them. Marrie they that delight in Poesie itselfe, should seek to know what they do, and how they do: and especially looke themselves in an unflattering glasse of reason, if they be enclinable unto it. For Poesie must not be drawne by the eares, it must be gently led, or rather it must lead, which 70

was partly the cause, that made the auncient The Delearned affirme, it was a divine gift and no hu- fence of mane skil: since all other knowledges lie readie for Poesie anie that have strength of wit: A Poet no industrie can make, if his owne Genius be not carried into it. And therefore is an old Proverbe, Orator fit. Poeta nascitur. Yet confesse I alwaies, that as the fertilest ground must be manured, so must the highest flying wit have a Dedalus to guide him. That Dedalus they say both in this and in other, hath three wings to be re itselfe up into the aire of due commendation: that is Art, Imitation, and Exercise. But these neither Artificiall Rules, nor imitative paternes, we much comber ourselves withall. Exercise indeed we do, but that verie fore-back-wardly; for where we should exercise to know, we exercise as having knowne: and so is our braine delivered of much matter. which never was begotten by knowledge. For there being two principall parts, Matter to be expressed by words, and words to expresse the matter: In neither, wee use Art or imitation rightly. Our matter is, Quodlibet, indeed though wrongly performing, Ovids Verse. Quicquid conabor dicere Versus erit: never marshalling it into anie assured ranck, that almost the Readers cannot tell where to finde themselves. Chawcer undoubtedly did excellently in his Troilus and Creseid: of whome trulie I knowe not whether to mervaile more, either that hee in that mistie time could see

7I

The De- the honor of his vertue to have made an Office. fence of by his exercising it, which before was contemtible, to become highly respected: so these men Poesie no more but setting their names to it, by their own disgracefulnesse, disgrace the most gracefull Poesie. For now as if all the Muses were got with childe, to bring forth bastard Poets: without any commission, they do passe over the Bankes of Helicon, till they make the Readers more wearie then Post-horses: while in the mean time, they Queis meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan, are better content to suppresse the out-flowings of their wit, then by publishing them, to be accounted Knights of the same order. But I that before ever I durst aspire unto the dignitie, am admitted into the companie of the Paper-blurrers, do finde the verie true cause of our wanting estimation, is want of desert, taking uppon us to be Poets, in despite of Pallas. Now wherein we want desert, were a thankwoorthie labour to expresse. But if I knew I should have mended myselfe, but as I never desired the title, so have I neglected the meanes to come by it, onely over-mastered by some thoughts, I yeelded an inckie tribute unto them. Marrie they that delight in Poesie itselfe, should seek to know what they do, and how they do: and especially looke themselves in an unflattering glasse of reason, if they be enclinable unto it. For Poesie must not be drawne by the eares, it must be gently led, or rather it must lead, which 70

was partly the cause, that made the auncient The Delearned affirme, it was a divine gift and no hu- fence of mane skil: since all other knowledges lie readie for Poesie anie that have strength of wit: A Poet no industrie can make, if his owne Genius be not carried into it. And therefore is an old Proverbe, Orator fit. Poeta nascitur. Yet confesse I alwaies, that as the fertilest ground must be manured, so must the highest flying wit have a Dedalus to guide him. That Dedalus they say both in this and in other, hath three wings to beare itselfe up into the aire of due commendation: that is Art, Imitation, and Exercise. But these neither Artificiall Rules, nor imitative paternes, we much comber ourselves withall. Exercise indeed we do, but that verie fore-back-wardly; for where we should exercise to know, we exercise as having knowne: and so is our braine delivered of much matter, which never was begotten by knowledge. For there being two principall parts, Matter to be expressed by words, and words to expresse the matter: In neither, wee use Art or imitation rightly. Our matter is, Quodlibet, indeed though wrongly performing, Ovids Verse. Quicquid conabor dicere Versus erit: never marshalling it into anie assured ranck, that almost the Readers cannot tell where to finde themselves. Chawcer undoubtedly did excellently in his Troilus and Creseid: of whome trulie I knowe not whether to mervaile more, either that hee in that mistie time could see

7I

The De- for both sorts: for, for the auncient, the Italian Poesie

fence of is so full of Vowels, that it must ever be combred with Elisions. The Duch so of the other side with Consonants, that they cannot yeeld the sweete slyding, fit for a Verse. The French in his whole language, hath not one word that hath his accent in the last sillable, saving two, called Antepenultima; and little more hath the Spanish, and therefore verie gracelesly may they use Dactiles. The English is subject to none of these defects. Now for Rime, though we doo not observe quantitie, yet wee observe the Accent verie precisely, which other languages either cannot do, or will not do so absolutely. That Cæsura, or breathing place in the midst of the Verse, neither Italian nor Spanish have: the French and we, never almost faile off. Lastly, even the verie Rime itselfe, the Italian cannot put it in the last sillable, by the French named the Masculine Rime; but still in the next to the last, which the French call the Female; or the next before that, which the Italians terme Sdrucciola: the example of the former, is Buono, Suono, of the Sdrucciola is Femina, Semina. The French of the other side, hath both the Male as Bon, Son, and the Female, as Plaise, Taise; but the Sdrucciola, he hath not: where the English hath all three, as Du, Trew, Father, Rather, Motion, Potion, with much more which might be sayd, but that alreadie I finde the triflings of this discourse is much too much enlarged. So that since

the ever praise-woorthie Poesie is full of vertue The Debreeding delightfulnesse, and voyd of no gift that fence of ought to be in the noble name of learning: since Poesie the blames layd against it, are either false or feeble, since the cause why it is not esteemed in England, is the fault of Poet-apes, not Poets. Since lastly our tongue is most fit to honour Poesie, and to bee honoured by Poesie, I conjure you all that have had the evill luck to read this inckwasting toy of mine, even in the name of the nine Muses, no more to scorne the sacred misteries of Poesie. No more to laugh at the name of Poets, as though they were next inheritors to fooles; no more to jest at the reverent title of a Rimer, but to beleeve with Aristotle, that they were the auncient Treasurers of the Grecians divinitie: to beleeve with Bembus, that they were first bringers in of all Civilitie; to beleeve with Scalliger that no Philosophers precepts can sooner make you an honest man, then the reading of Virgil; to beleeve with Clauserus, the Translator of Cornutus, that it pleased the heavenly deitie by Hesiod and Homer, under the vaile of Fables to give us all knowledge, Logicke, Rhetoricke, Philosophie, naturall and morall, and Ouid non? To beleeve with me, that there are many misteries contained in Poetrie, which of purpose were written darkly, least by prophane wits it should be abused: To beleeve with Landin, that they are so beloved of the Gods, that whatsoever they write, pro-

The De- ceeds of a divine furie. Lastly, to beleeve themfence of selves when they tell you they will make you Poesie immortal, by their verses. Thus doing, your name shall florish in the Printers shops. Thus doing you shalbe of kin to many a Poeticall Preface. Thus doing, you shal be most faire, most rich, most wise, most all: you shall dwel upon Superlatives. Thus doing, though you be Libertino patre natus, you shall sodeinly grow Herculea proles. Si quid mea carmina possunt. Thus doing, your soule shall be placed with Dantes Beatrix, or Virgils Anchises. But if (fie of such a but) you bee borne so neare the dull-making Cataract of Nilus, that you cannot heare the Planet-like Musicke of Poetrie; if you have so earth-creeping a mind that it cannot lift itselfe up to looke to the skie of Poetrie, or rather by a certaine rusticall disdaine, wil become such a mome, as to bee a Momus of Poetrie: then though I will not wish unto you the Asses eares of Midas, nor to be driven by a Poets verses as Bubonax was, to hang himselfe, nor to be rimed to death as is said to be done in Ireland, yet thus much Curse I must send you in the behalfe of all Poets, that while you live, you live in love, and never get favour, for lacking skill of a Sonet, and when

> you die, your memorie die from the earth, for want of an Epitaphe.

> > **FINIS**

A LETTER TO QUEEN ELIZABETH Perswading Her not to Marry with the Duke of Anjou Anno 1580

Ŋ

. . • • • . . -• •

## A LETTER TO QUEEN ELIZABETH

Most Feared and Beloved, most Sweet and Gracious Sovereign,



O seek out Excuses of this my Boldness, and to arm the Acknowledging of a Fault with Reasons for it, might better shew I knew I did amis, than any Way diminish the At-

tempt, especially in your Judgment; who being able to discern lively into the Nature of the Thing done, it were Folly to hope, by laying on better Colours, to make it more acceptable. Therefore carrying no other Olive-branch of Intercession, then the Laying of my self at your Feet: nor no other Insinuation. either for Attention or Pardon, but the true vowed Sacrifice of unfeigned Love; I will, in simple and direct Terms (as hoping they shall only come to your mercifull Eyes) set down the Overflowing of my Mind in this most important Matter, importing, as I think, the Continuance of your Safety; and, as I know, the Joys of my Life. And because my Words (I confess shallow, but coming from the deep Well-spring of most loyal Affection) have delivered to your most gracious Ear, what is the general Sum of my travelling Thoughts therein;

A Let- I will now but only declare, what be the Reasons ter to that make me think, that the Marriage with Mon-Queen sieur will be unprofitable unto you; then will I Elizaanswer the Objection of those Fears, which might procure so violent a Refuge.

> The Good or Evils that will come by it, must be considered, either according to your Estate or Person. To your Estate, what can be added to the being an absolute born, and accordingly respected, Princess? But, as they say the Irishmen, are wont to call over them that die, "They are rich, they are fair, what needed they to dye so cruelly:" Not unfitly of You, endowed with Felicity above all others, a Man might well ask; what makes you in such a Calm to change Course; to so healthfull a Body, to apply so unsavory a Medicine: What can recompence so hazardous an Adventure: Indeed, were it but the Altering of a well maintained, and well approved Trade: For, as in Bodies natural, every sudden Change is full of Peril; so in this Body Politick, whereof you are the only Head, it is so much the more dangerous, as there are more Humours to receive a hurtful Impression. But Hazards are then most to be reguarded, when the Nature of the Patient is fitly composed to occasion them.

> The Patient I account your Realm; the Agent Monsieur, and his Design; for neither outward Accidents do much prevail against a true inward Strength; nor doth inward Weakness lightly sub-

vert itself, without being thrust at by some out- A Letward Force. ter to

Your inward Force (for as for your Treasures Queen indeed, the Sinews of your Crown, your Majesty Elizabeth doth best and only know) consisteth in your Subjects, generally unexpert in warlike Defence; and as they are divided now into mighty Factions (and Factions bound on the never dying Knot of Religion) the one of them, to whom your happy Goverment hath granted the free Exercise of the eternal Truth; with this, by the Continuance of Time, by the Multitude of them; by the principal Offices, and Strength they hold; and lastly, by your Dealings both at Home and Abroad against the adverse Party; your State is so entrapped, as it were impossible for you, without excessive Trouble, to pull your self out of the Party so long maintained. For such a Course once taken in Hand, is not much unlike a Ship in a Tempest, which how dangerously soever it may be beaten with Waves, yet is there no Safety or Succour without it: These, therefore, as their Soules live by your happy Goverment, so are they your chief, if not your sole Strength: These, howscever the Necessity of humane Life makes them lack, yet can they not look for better Conditions then presently they enjoy: These, how their Hearts will be galled, if not aliened, when they shall see you take a Husband, a Frenchman and a Papist, in whom (howsoever fine Wits may

A Let- find further Dealings or painted Excuses) the ter to Queen Elizabeth easier to make Massacres of our Brethren in Belief: That he himself, contrary to his Promise, and all Gratefulness, having his Liberty and principal Estate by the Hugonots Means, did sack Lacharists, and utterly spoil them with Fire and Sword. This, I say, even at first Sight, gives Occasion to all, truly religious, to abhor such a Master, and consequently to diminish much of the hopefull Love, they have long held to you.

> The other Faction, most rightly indeed, to be called a Faction, is the Papists; Men, whose Spirits are full of Anguish, some being infested by others, whom they accounted damnable; some having their Ambition stopped, because they are not in the Way of Advancement; some in Prison and Disgrace; some whose best Friends are banished Practisers; many thinking you are an Usurper; many thinking also you had disanulled your Right, because of the Popes Excommunication; all burthened with the Weight of their Conscience; Men of great Numbers, of great Riches (because the Affaires of State have not lain on them) of united Minds (as all Men that deem themselves oppressed naturally are) With these, I would willingly join all discontented Persons, such as Want and Disgrace keep lower than

> > **92** .

they have set their Hearts; such as have resolved A Letwhat to look for at your Hands; such as Cæsar ter to said, Quibus opus est bello civili, and are of his Queen Mind, malo in acie, quam in foro cadere. These Elizabe Men so much the more to be doubted. be- beth cause, as they do embrace all Estates; so are they commonly of the bravest and wakefullest Sort; and that know the Advantage of the World most. This double Rank of People, how their Minds have stood, the Northern Rebellion, and infinite other Practises, have well taught you; which, if it be said, it did not prevail, that is true indeed; for if they had prevailed, it were too late now to deliberate. But, at this present, they want nothing so much as a Head, who, in Effect, needs not but to receive their Instructions; since they may do Mischief only with his Countenance. Let the Singiniam in Henry the Fourths Time, Perkin Warbeck in your Grandfathers; but of all the most lively and proper, is that of Lewis the French Kings Son, in Henry the Thirds Time; who having at all no Shew of Title, yet did he cause the Nobility, and more, to swear direct Fealty and Vassalage; and they delivered the strongest Holds unto him. I say, let these be sufficient to prove, that Occasion gives Mindes and Scope to stranger Things, than ever would have been imagined. If then the affectionate Side, have their Affections weakned, and the Discontented have a Gap to utter their Discontent; I think it will

A Let- seem an ill Preparative for the Patient (I mean ter to your Estate) to a great Sickness.

Queen Now the Agent Party, which is Monsieur:

- Eliza- Whether he be not apt to work on the Disadvan-
- beth tage of your Estate, he is to be judged by his Will and Power; his Will to be as full of light Ambition, as is possible; besides the French Disposition, and his own Education; his inconstant Temper against his Brother; his Thrusting himself into the Low Country Matters; his sometimes Seeking the King of Spains Daughter; sometimes your Majesty; are evident Testimonyes of his being carried away with every Wind of Hope; taught to love Greatness any Way gotten; and having for the Motioners and Ministers of the Mind, only such young Men, as have shewed they think evil Contentment a Ground of any Rebellion, who have seen no Commonwealth, but in Faction: and divers of which have defiled their Hands in odious Murthers: With such Fancies and Favourites, what is to be hoped for; or that he will contain himself within the Limits of your Conditions; since, in Truth, it were strange, that he that cannot be contented to be the second Person in France, and Heir apparent, should be content to come to be a second Person, where he should pretend no Way to Sovereignty. His Power, I imagine, is not to be despised, since he is come into a Country, where the Way of evil Doing will be presented unto him; where there

needs nothing but a Head, to draw together all A Letthe ill-affected Members: Himself a Prince of ter to great Revenues, of the most popular Nation of Queen the World, full of Souldiery, and such as are used Elizato serve without Pay, so as they may have Shew beth of Spoil; and, without Ouestion, shall have his Brother ready to help him, as well for old Revenge, as to divert him from troubling France, and to deliver his own Country from evil Humours. Neither is King Philips Marriage here any Example; since then it was between two of one Religion, so that only he in England, stood only upon her Strength, and had Abroad King Henry of France, ready to impeach any Enterprize he should make for his Greatness that Way. And, yet, what Events Time would have brought forth of that Marriage, your most blessid Reign hath made vain all such Considerations. But Things holding in present State, I think I may easily conclude, that your Country as well by long Peace, and Fruits of Peace, as by the Poison of Division, wherewith the Faithfull shall by this Meanes be wounded, and the contrary enabled, made fit to receive Hurt; and Monsieur being every Way likely to use the Occasions to hurt, there can almost happen no worldly Thing of more eminent Danger to your Estate Royal. And as to your Person, in the Scale of your Happiness, what Good there may come by it, to ballance with the Loss of so honourable a Constancy; truly,

A Let- yet I perceive not. I will not shew so much Malter to ice, as to object the universal Doubt, the Races Queen Unfaithfulness; neither will I lay to his Charge Elizathe Ague-like Manner of Proceedings, sometimes beth hot and sometimes cold, in the Time of Pursuit; which always rightly is most fervent: And I will temper my Speeches from any other unreverend Disgracings of him, in particular; (though they might be never so true) this only will I say, that if he do come hither, he must live here in far less Reputation than his Mind will well brook, having no other Royalty to countenance himself with; or else you must deliver him the Keys of your Kingdom, and live at his Discretion; or, lastly, he must be seperate himself, with more Dishonour, and further Disuniting of Heart, than ever before. Often have I heard you, with Protestation, say, no private Pleasure, nor Self-affection, could lead you to it; but if it be both unprofitable for your Kingdom, and unpleasant to you, certainly it were a dear Purchase of Repentance; nothing can it add unto you, but the Bliss of Children, which, I confess, were a most unspeakable Comfort; but yet no more appertaining unto him, than to any other, to whom the Height of all good Haps, were alloted to be your Husband; and therefore I may assuredly affirm, that what Good soever can follow Marriage, is no more his than any Bodies; but the Evils and Dangers are peculiarly annexed to his Person, and Condition. For,

as for the Enriching of your Country with Trea- A Letsure, which either he hath not, or hath otherwise ter to. bestowed it; or the Staying of your Servants Queen Minds with new Expectations and Liberality, Elizawhich is more dangerous than fruitfull; or the beth Easing of your Majesty of Cases, which is as much as to say, as the Easing of you to be Queen and Soveraign: I think every one perceives this Way to be full of Hurt, or void of Help. Now resteth to consider, what be the Motives of this sudden Change, as I have heard you in most sweet Words deliver; Fear of standing alone, in Respect of foreign Dealings; and in them, from whom you should have Respect, doubt of Contempt. Truly, Standing alone, with good Foresight of Goverment, both in Peace and Warlike Defence. is the honourablest Thing that can be, to a well established Monarchy; those Buildings being ever most strongly durable, which lean to none other, but remain from their own Foundation.

So yet in the Particulars of your Estate at present, I will not altogether deny that a true Massinissa, were fit to countermine the Enterprise of mighty Carthage: But how this general Truth, can be applied to Monsieur; in Truth I perceive not. The Wisest that have given best Rules, where surest Leagues are made, have said, that it must be between such as either vehement Desire of a 3d Thing, or as vehement Fear, doth knit their Minds together. Desire is counted the weaker

A Let- Bond, but yet that bound so many Princes to the Holy Land. It united that invincible King ter to Queen Henry V, and that good Duke of Burgundy; the Elizaone desiring to win the Crown of France from beth the Dauphin, the other desiring to revenge his Fathers Murther upon the Dauphin; which both tended to one. That coupled Lewis XII, and Ferdinando of Spain to the Conquest of Naples. Of Fear, there are innumerable Examples: Monsieurs Desires, and yours, how they shall meet in publick Matters, I think no Oracle can tell; for as the Geomatricians say, that Parallels, because they maintain divers Lines, can never join: So truly, two, having in the Beginning contrary Principles, to bring forth one Doctrine, must be some Miracle. He of the Romish Religion; and if he be a Man. must needs have that manlike Property, to desire that all Men be of his Mind: You the Erector and Defender of the contrary, and the only Sun that dasleth their Eyes: He French, and desiring to make France great: Your Majesty English, and desiring nothing less than that France should not grow great: He both by own Fancy and his youthfull Governors, embracing all ambitious Hopes; having Alexanders Image in his Head, but, perhaps, evil painted: Your Majesty with excellent Virtue, taught what you should hope, and by no less Wisdom, what you may Hope; with a Council renowned over all Christendom, for their well-temperd Minds, hav-

ing set the utmost of their Ambition in your Fa- A Letvour, and the Study of their Souls, in your Safety. ter to

Fear hath as little Shew of outward Appear- Queen ance, as Reason, to match you together; for in Elizathis Estate he is in, whom should he fear, his Bro- beth ther: alas! his Brother is afraid, since the King of Navar is to step into his Place. Neither can his Brother be the safer by his Fall, but he may be the greater by his Brothers; whereto, whether you will be an Accessary, you are to determine. The King of Spain certainly cannot make Warr upon him, but it must be upon all the Crown of France, which is no Likelyhood he will do: Well may Monsieur (as he hath done) seek to enlarge the Bounds of France upon this State; which likewise, whether it be safe for you to be a Countenance to, any other Way, may be seen: So that if neither Desire nor Fear be such in him, as are to bind any publick Fastness, it may be said, that the only Fortress of this your Marriage, is of his private Affection; a Thing too incident to the Person, laying it up in such Knots.

The other Objection of Contempt in the Subjects: I assure your Majesty, if I had heard it proceed out of your Mouth, which of all other I do most dearly reverence, it would as soon (considering the Perfections of Body and Mind, have set all Mens Eyes by the Height of your Estate) have come to the Possibility of my Imagination, if one should have told me on the contrary Side, that

A Let- the greatest Princess of the World, should envy ter to Elizabeth

the State of some poor deformed Pilgrim. What Queen is there, either within you or without you, that can possibly fall into the Danger of Contempt, to whom Fortunes are tyed by so long Descent of your Royal Ancestors? But our Minds rejoyce with the Experience of your inward Virtues, and our Eyes are delighted with the Sight of you. But because your own Eyes cannot see yourself, neither can there be in the World any Example fit to blase you by, I beseech you vouchsafe to weigh the Grounds thereof. The naturall Causes are Length of Goverment, and Uncertainty of Succession: The Effects, as you term them, appear by cherishing some abominable Speeches, which some hellish Minds have uttered. The longer a Prince reigneth, it is certain the more he is esteemed; there is no Man ever was weary of well-being. And Good encreased to Good, maketh the same Good, both greater and stronger; for it useth Men to know no other Cares, when either Men are born in the Time, and so never saw other; or have spent much of their flourishing Time, and so have no Joy to seek other; in evil Princes, Abuse growing upon Abuse, according to the Nature of Evil; with the Encrease of Time, ruins itself. But in so rare a Goverment, where Neighbours Fires give us Light to see our Quietness, where nothing wants that true Administration of Justice brings forth; certainly the

Length of Time, rather breeds a Mind to think A Letthere is no other Life, but in it, than that there ter to is any Tediousness in so fruitfull a Government. Queen Examples of good Princes do ever confirm this, Elizawho the longer they lived, the deeper they sunk beth into their Subjects Hearts. Neither will I trouble you with Examples, being so many and manifest. Look into your own Estate, how willingly they grant, and how dutifully they pay such Subsidies, as you demand of them: How they are no less troublesome to your Majesty in certain Requests, than they were in the Beginning of your Reign; and your Majesty shall find you have a People more than ever devoted to you.

As for the Uncertainty of Succession, although for mine own Part I have cast the utmost Anchor of my Hope; yet for England's Sake, I would not say anything against such Determination; but that uncertain Good should bring a Contempt to a certain Good, I think it is beyond all Reach of Reason; nay because if there were no other Cause (as there are infinite) common Reason and Profit would teach us to hold that lewel dear. the Loss of which would bring us to we know not what; which likewise is to be said of your Majesties Speech of the Rising Sun; a Speech first used by Sylla to Pompey, in Rome, as then a popular Citty, where indeed Men were to rise and fall, according to the Flourish and Breath of a many headed Confusion. But in so lineal a Mon-

ΙΟΙ

A Let- archy, where ever the Infants suck the Love of ter to their rightfull Prince, who would leave the Beams Queen of so fair a Sun, for the dreadfull Expectation of Elizaa divided Company of Stars: Virtue and Justice beth are the only Bonds of Peoples Love; and as for that Point, many Princes have lost their Crowns, whose own Children were manifest Successors: and some that had their own Children used as Instruments of their Ruin; not that I deny the Bliss of Children, but only to shew Religion and Equity to be of themselves sufficient Stays. Neither is the Love born in the Queen your Sisters Days, any Contradiction hereunto; for she was the Oppressor of that Religion, which lived in many Mens Hearts, and whereof you were known to be the Favourer; by her Loss was the most excellent Prince in the World to succeed: by your Loss, all Blindness light upon him, that sees not our Misery. Lastly, and most properly for this Purpose, she had made an odious Marriage with a Stranger (which is now in Question whether your Majestie shall do or no) so that if your Subjects do at this Time look for any Afterchance, it is but as the Pilot doth to the Shipboat, if his Ship should perish; driven by Extremity to the one, but as long as he can with his Life, tending the other. And this I say, not only for the lively Parts that be in you; but even for their own Sakes, for they must needs see what Tempests threaten them.

The last Proof in this Contempt, should be the A Letvenemous Matter, certain Men imposthum'd with ter to Wickedness should utter against you. Certainly Queen not to be evil spoken of, neither Christs Holi- Elizaness, nor Cæsar's Might, could ever prevent or beth warrant; there being for that no other Rule than so to do, as that they may not justly say Evil of you; which whether your Majesty have not done, I leave it in you, to the Sincereness of your own Conscience, and Wisdom of your Judgment in the World, to your most manifest Fruits and Fame throughout Europe. Augustus was told, that Men speake of him much Hurt: "It is no Matter," said he, "so long as they cannot do much Hurt." And lastly Charles V, to one that told him, "Les Hollandois parlent mal; maiz ilz patient bien," answered he. I might make a scholar-like Reckoning of many such Examples; it sufficeth that these great Princes knew well enough upon what Way they flew, and cared little for the Barking of a few Currs: And truly in the Behalf of your Subjects, I durst with my Blood answer it, that there was never Monarch held in more precious Reckoning of her People; and before God how can it be otherwise? For mine own Part, when I hear some lost Wretch hath defiled such a Name with his Mouth, I consider the right Name of Blasphemy, whose unbridled Soul doth delight to deprave that, which is accounted generally most high and holy. No, no, most excellent

A Let- Lady, do not raze out the Impression you have made in such a Multitude of Hearts: and let not ter to Queen the Scum of such vile Minds, bear any Witness Elizaagainst your Subjects Devotions: Which to probeth ceed one Point further, if it were otherwise, could little be helped, but rather nourished, and in Effect began by this. The only Meanes of avoiding 11:0000 Contempt, are Love and Fear; Love, as you have by divers Meanes sent into the Depth of their Souls; so if anything can stain so true a Form, it must be the Trimming your self, not in your own Likeness, but in new Colours unto them: their Fear by him cannot be encreased, without the Appearaunce of Frenche Forces, the manifest Death of your Estate; but well may it against him, bear that Face, which (as the tragick Seneca saith) Metus in authorem redit, as because both in Will and Power, he is like enough to do Harm. Since then it is dangerous for your State, as well because by inward Weakness (principally caused by Division) it is fit to receive Harm; since to your Person it can be no Way comfortable, you not desiring Marriage; and neither to Person nor Estate, he is to bring any more Good than any Body; but more Evil he may, since the Causes that should drive you to this, are either Fears of that which cannot happen, or by this Meanes cannot be prevented: I do with most humble Heart say unto your Majestie (having assayed this dangerous Help) for your Standing alone,

you must take it for a singular Honour God hath A Letdone you, to be indeed the only Protector of his ter to Church; and yet in worldly Respects your King- Queen dom very sufficient so to do, if you make that Elizabeth Religion, upon which you stand, to carry the only Strength, and have Abroad those that still maintain the same Course; who as long as they may be kept from utter Falling, your Majesty is sure enough from your mightiest Enemies. As for this Man, as long as he is but Monsieur in Might, and a Papist in Profession, he neither can, nor will, greatly shield you; and if he get once to be King, his Defence will be like Ajax's Shield, which rather weighed them down, than defended those that bare it. Against Contempt, if there be any, which I will never believe, let your excellent Virtues of Piety, Justice, and Liberality, daily, if it be possible, more and more shine. Let such particular Actions be found out (which be easy as I think to be done) by which you may gratify all the Hearts of your People: Let those in whom you find Trust, and to whom you have comitted Trust, in your weighty Affairs, be held up in the Eyes of your Subjects: Lastly, doing as you do, you shall be as you be, the Example of Princes, the Ornament of this Age, and the most excellent Fruit of your Progenitors, and the perfect Mirror of your Posterity. Your Majesties faythfull, humble, and obedient Subject,

P. Sydney.

• •

-

## A DISCOURSE IN DEFENCE OF THE EARLE OF LEICESTER Anno 1584

•

.

.

١

.

.

.

•

## A DISCOURSE IN DEFENCE OF THE EARLE OF LEICESTER

F late there hath been printed a Book, in Form of Dialog, to the Defaming of the Earl of Lester, full of the most vile Reproches, which a Witt used to wicked and filthy Thoughtes can ima-

gin. In such Manner truly, that if the Autor had as well fained new Names, as he doth new Matters, a Man might well have thought his only Meaning had been, to have given a lively Picture of the uttermost Degree of Railing. A Thing contemtible in the Doer, as proceeding from a base and wretched Tong, and such a Tong, as, in the Speaking, dares not speak his own Name. Odious to all Estates, since no Man beares a Name, of which Name, how unfitly so ever to the Person, by an impudent Lier, anything may not be spoken; by all good Laws sharply punished, and by all civill Companies, like a poisenous Serpent avoided. But to the Earl himself, in the Eyes of any Men, who, with cleer Judgments, can value Thinges, a true and sound Honour grows out of these dishonourable Falshods. Since he may justly say, as a worthy Senatour of Rome once in like Case did, That no Man, these twenty

Yeeres, hath born a hatefull Hart to this Estate. fence of but that at the same Time, he hath shewd his Leicester Enmity to this Earl; testefying it hereby, that his Faith is so linked to her Majesties Service, that who goes about to undermine the one, resolvs withall to overthrow the other. For it is not now, first that evill contented, and evill minded Persons, before the Occasion be ripe for them, toshew their Hate against the Prince, do first vomitt it out against his Counceilours; nay certainly, so stale a Devise it is, as it is to be mervailed, that so fine Witts, whose Inventions a fugitive Fortune hath sharpned, and the Air of Italy perchaunce purified, can light uppon no gallanter Way, then the ordinary Pretext of the very clownish Rebellious. And yet that this is their Plott of late, by Name, first to publish somthing against the Earl of Lester, and after, when Time served, against the Queenes Majesty, by some of their own intercepted Discourses, is made to manifest. He himself, in some Places, bringes in the Examples of Gaveston, Earl of Cornwal, Robert Vere, Duke of Ireland, and Delapool, Duke of Suffolk. It is not my Purpose to defend them, but I would fain know, whether they that persecuted those Counceilours, when they had had their Will in ruining them, whether their Rage ceassed, before they had as well destroyed the Kinges themselves. Edward, and Richard the Second, and Henry the Sixt? The old Tale testefieth, that the

110

A De-

Wolves, that mean to destroy the Flock, hate most A Dethe trewest and valiantest Dogges. Therefore the fence of more the filthy Empostume of their wolvish Mal- Leicester ice breakes forth, the more undoutedly doth it rais this well deserved Glory to the Earl, that who hates England, and the Queen, must also withall hate the Earl of Lester.

And as for the Libell itself, such is it, as neither in respect of the Writer, nor Matter written, can move, I think, the lightest Witts to give thereto Credditt, to the Discredditt of so worthy a Person. For the Writer (whom in Truth I know not. and, loth to fail, am not willing to guess at) shews yet well enough, of what Kenell he is, that dares not testefy his own Writinges, with his own Name. And which is more base-(if anything can be more base then a diffamatory Libeller) he counterfaites himself, in all the Treatis, a Protestant, when any Man, with Haulf an Eye, may easily see he is of the other Party; which filthy Dissimulation, if few honest Men of that Religion will use, to the Helping of them selves, of how many Carrets of Honesty is this Man, that useth it (as much as his poor Powr can) to the Harm of another. And lastly, evident enough it is, to any Man that reedes it, what Poison he meanes to her Majesty, in how golden a Cup so ever he dress it.

For the Matter written, so full of horrible Villeinies, as no good Hart will think possible to en-

III

ter into any Creature, much less to be likely in fence of so noble and well known a Man as he is, onely Leicester thus accused to be by the railing Oratory of a shameles Libeller. Perchaunce he had redd the Rule of that Sycophant, that one should bakbite boldly; for, tho the Bite wear healed, yet the Skar would remain: But sure that Scoolmaster of his would more conningly have carried it, leaving som Shaddows of Good, or, at least, leaving out som Evill, that his Treatis might have carried som probable Shew of it: For as reasonable Commendation wins Beleef, and excessive getts only the Praiser the Title of a Flatterer; so much more in this far wors Degree of Lying, it may well rebound uppon himself, the vile Reproch of a Railer, but never can sink into any good Mind. The Suspicion of any such unspeakable Mischeevs, especially it beeing every Mans Case, even from the Meanest to the Highest, whereof we daily see odious Examples, that even of the great Princes, the deer Riches of a good Name are sought in such Sort to be pickt away by such Night Theeves. For thorow the whole Book, what is it else, but such a Bundle of Railinges, as if it came from the Mouth of som haulf drunk Skold in a Tavern, not regarding while Evill weare spoken, what was fitt for the Person of whome the Railing was, so the Wordes wear fitt for the Person of an outragious Railer. Dissimulation, Hipocrisy, Adultery, Falshod, Trechery, Poison, Re-

112

A De-

bellion, Treason, Cowardis, Atheism, and what A Denot, and all still so uppon the Superlative, that it fence of was no Mervail, though the good Lawyer, he Leicester speaks of, made many a Cros to keep him from such a Father of lies, and in many excellent Giftes, passing all shameles Skoldes, in one he passeth himself with an unheard-of impudence, bringing Persons, yet alive, to speak Thinges which they are reddy to depose, uppon their salvation, never came in their Thoughtes. Such a Gentlewoman spake of a Matter no less then Treason, belike she whispred, yet he heard her; such two Knightes spake together of thinges not fitt to call Witnesses to, yet this Asses Eares wear so long, that he heard them. And yet see his good Nature all this While would never reveal them till now, for Secrecy Sake, he puts them foorth in Print; certainly such a Quality in a Railer, as I think never was heard of, to name Persons alive, as not onely can, but do disprove his Falshods, and yet, with such Familiarity, to name them. Without he learnd it of Pace, the Duke of Norfolkes Fool, for he, when he had used his Tong, as this Heir of his hath don his Pen, of the noblest Persons, somtimes of the Duke himself, the next that came fitly in his Way, he would say he had told it him, of abundance of Charity, not onely to slaunder, but to make bate. What therefore can be said to such a Man? Or who lives there, even Christ him self, but that so stinking a Breath may blow In-

famy uppon? Who hath a Father, by whose A Defence of Death the Son enherits, but such a nameles His-Leicester torien may say his Son poisend him? Where may two talk together, but such a Spirit of Revelation may surmize they spake of Treason? What need more, or why so much? As though I douted that any would build Beleef uppon such a durty Seat, onely when he, to borrow a little of his Inkhorn, when he plays the statist, wringing very unluckily some of Machiavels Axiomes to serve his Purpos then indeed; then he triumphes. Why then the Earl of Lester meanes and plots to be King him self, but first to rebell from the Prince to whome he is most bound, and of whome he onely dependeth, and then to make the Earl of Huntington King, and then to putt him down, and then to make him self. Certainly, Sir, you shoot fair, I think no Man, that hath Witt and Power to pronounce this Word England, but wil pity a Sycophant so weak in his own Faculty. But of the Earl of Huntington, as I think all indifferent Men will cleer him from any such foolish and wicked Entent of Rebellion, so I protest, before the Majesty of God, who will confound all Liers; and before the World, to whome Effectes and Enocentcy will witnes my Trewth, that I coold never find, in the Earl of Lester, any one Motion of Inclination toward any such pretended Conceat in the Earl of Huntington. I say no Wit futur, for as for the present, or for drawing it to himself, I think

no Devil so wicked, nor no Idiot so simple, as to A Deconjecture; and yet, beeing to him as I am, I fence of think I shold have som Air of that, which this gen- Leicester tle Libelmaker doth so particularly and peecemeal understand, and I do know the Earls of Warwick, of Pembroke, my Father, and all the rest he names there, will answer the like. And yet such Matters cannot be undertaken, without good Frendes, nor good Frendes be kept without knowing somthing; but the Earles Mind hath ever been to serve onely and truly, setting aside all Hopes, all Feares, his Mistris, by undouted Right Queen of England, and most worthy to be the Queen for her royall Excellencies, and most worthy to be his Queen, having restored his overthrown House, and brought him to this case; that Curs for onely envy bark at. And this his Mind is not onely (though cheefly) for Faith knitt in Conscience and Honor, nor onely (though greatly) for Gratefulness, where al Men know how much he is bound, but even partly for Wisdomes Sake, knowing, by all old Lessons and Examples, that, how welcom soever Treasons bee, Traitors to all wise Princes are odious, and that, as Mutius answered Tully, who wrote to him how he was blamed for shewing himself so constant a Frend to Cæsar, that he douted not, even they that blamed him would rather choos such Frendes as he was, then such as they wear. For wise Princes well know, that these violent Discontentements

arise out of the Parties wicked Humors, as in sick =Folkes, that think, with Change of Places, to eas = Leicester their Evill, which indeed is inward, and whome, nor this Prince nor that Prince can satisfy, but such as are ledd by their Fancies, that is to say\_\_\_\_ who leave to be Princes. But this gentle Libelmaker, because he would make an evident Proof of an unquencheable Malice, desperat Impudency and Falshod, which never knew Blusshing, is not content with a whole Dictionary of Slanders upon these Persons living, but, as if he woold rake upp the Bones of the Dead, with so apparent Falshods toucheth their Houses, as if he had been afeard, els he shoold not have been streight found in that wherein he so greatly labours to excell. First, for Hastinges, he saith, the Lord Hastinges conspired the Death of his Maister King Edwardes Sons; lett any Man but reed the excellent Treatis of Sir Thomas Moor, compare but his Wordes with this Libelmakers, and then judg him, if he, who in a Thing so long since printed, and, as any Man may see by other of his Allegations of him diligently redd, hath the Face to write so directly contrary, not caring, as it seemes, though a hundred thousand find his Falshod, so som dosen, that never redd Sir Thomas Moores Wordes, may be carried to beleeve his horrible Slaunders of a Nobleman so long ago dead. I sett down the Wordes of both, because, by this onely lively Comparison, the Face of his Falshod may be the

better sett foorth. And who then can dout, but he A Dethat lies in a Thing, which, with one Look, is found fence of a Lie, what he will do, where yet there is though Leicester as much Falshod, yet not so easy Disproof.

Now to the Dudleys, such is his Bounty, that, when he hath poured out all his Flood of scolding Eloquence, he saith they are no Gentlemen, affirming, that the then Duke of Northumberland was not born so; in Truth, if I shoold have studdied with my self of all Pointes of fals Invections. which a poisenous Tong coold have spitt out against that Duke, yet would it never have come into my Hed, of all other Thinges, that any Man woold have objected Want of Gentry unto him; but this Fellow doth like him, who, when he had shot off all his railing Quiver, cald one Cuckold that was never married, because he woold not be in Debt to any one evill Word. I am a Dudley in Blood, that Dukes Daughters Son, and do acknowledg, though, in all Truth, I may justly affirm, that I am, by my Fathers Side, of ancient, and alwayes well esteemed and well matched Gentry, yet I do acknowledge, I say, that my cheefest Honor is to be a Dudley, and truly am glad to have Cause to set foorth the Nobility of that Blood whereof I am descended, which, but uppon so just Cause, without vain glory, coold not have been uttred; since no Man, but this Fellow of invincible Shamelesness woold ever have cald so palpable a Matter in Question. In one Place of his Booke, he

greatly extolleth the great Nobility, of the House of Talbot, and truly with good Cause, there bee-Leicester ing, as I think, not in Europe a subject House which hath joined longer Continuance of Nobility, with Men of greater Service and Loyalty. And yet this Dukes own Grandmother, whose Blood he makes so base, was a Talbot, Daughter and sole Heir to the Vicount of Lile; even he, the same Man, who, when he might have saved himself, chose rather manifest Death, then to abandon his Father, that most noble Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, of whome the Histories of that Time make so honorable Mention. The House of Gray is well known; to no House in England in great Continuance of Honour, and for Nomber of great Houses sprong of it, to be matched by none; but, by the noble House of Nevel, his Mother was a right Gray, and a sole Enheritrix of that Gray of the House of Warwick which ever strave with the great House of Arundel, which shoold be the first Earl of England; he was likewise so descended, as that justly the Honour of the House remained cheefly uppon him, beeing the onely Heir to the eldest Daughter, and one of the Heirs to that famous Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, that was Regent of Fraunce; and although Richard Nevel, who married the yongest Sister, because she was of the whole Blood to him that was called Duke of Warwick, by a Point in our Law carried away the Enheritance; and so also I know 118

not by what Right the Title, yet in Law of Her- A Dealdry and Descentes, which doth not consider fence of those Quiddities of our Law; it is most certain, Leicester that the Honour of the Blood remained uppon him cheefly who came of the eldest Daughter. And more undoubtedly is it to be said of the House of Barkley, which is affirmed to be descended lineally from a King of Denmark, but hath ever been one of the best Houses in England, and this Duke was the onely Heir general to that House, which the House of Barkley doth not deny; howsoever, as somtimes it fals out between Brothers, there be Question for Land between them. Many other Houses might heerin be mentioned, but I name these, because England can boast of no nobler, and because all these Bloods so remained in him, that he, as Heir, might (if he had listed) have used their Armes and Name, as in old Time they used in England, and do daily, both in Spain, France, and Italy. So that I think, it woold seeme as great News as if they came from the Indies, that he, who by Right of Blood, and so accepted, was the auncientest Vicount of England, Heir in Blood and Armes to the first or second Earl of England; in Blood of Enheritance a Gray, a Talbot, a Beauchamp, a Barkley, a Lislay, shoold be douted to be a Gentleman. But he will say, these great Honors came to him by his Mother, for these I do not deny they came so; and that the Mother, beeing an Heir, hath

been, in all Ages and Contreis, sufficient to no-A Defence of bilitat, is so manifest, that, even from the Roman Leicester Time to modern Times, in such Case they might, if they listed, and so often did use the Mothers Name; and that Augustus Cæsar had both Name and Empire of Cæsar, onely by his Mothers Right, and so both Moderns. But I will claim no such Priviledg, lett the singular Nobility of his Mother nothing avail him, if his Fathers Blood wear not, in all Respectes, worthy to match with hers. If auncient, undouted, and untouched Nobility be worthy to match with the most noble House that can be: This House, therefore, of Dudley, which, in Despite of all Shamelesnes, he so doth deprave, is, at this Day, a Peer, as we tearm it, of the Realm, a Baron, and, as all English Men know, a Lord of the Parliament, and so a Companion, both in Marriage, Parliament, and Triall, to the greatest Duke that England can bear; so hath it been ever esteemed, and so, in the Constitutions of all our Laws and Ordeineinces, it is allwayes reputed. Dudley House is so, to this Day, and thus it hath been Time out of Mind; in Harry the Fifts Time, the Lord Dudley was his Lord Steward, and did that pittiful Office in bringing Home, as the cheef Mourner, his victorious Masters dead Boddy; as who goes but to Westminster, in the Church may see. I think if we consider together the Time which was of England the most flourishing, and the King he served, 120

who, of all Englishe Kinges, was most puissant, A Deand the Office he bare, which was, in Effect, as fence of great as an English Subject coold have, it woold Leicester seem very strange; so that Lord Dudley, if he coold out of his Grave heer this Fellow make Ouestion, Whether his lawfull Posterity, from Father to Son, shoold be Gentlemen or no? But though he onely had been sufficient to erect Nobility to his Successors, bringing, as the Romanes tearmed it, so noble an Image into the House, yet did he but receave his Nobility from his Auncestours, who had been Lordes of that very Seignory of Dudley Castell, many Descentes before, even from King Richarde the First Time; at which Time Sir Richard Sutton married the Daughter and Heir of the Lord Dudley; since which Time all descended of him, as divers Branches there bee, left the Name of Sutton, and have all been called Dudleys, which is now above four hundred Yeeres since; and both those Houses, of Sutton, and Dudley, having been before that Time of great Nobility; and that Sutton was a Man of great Honor and Estimation, that very Match witnesseth sufficiently, it being a dainty Thing in that Time, that one of Saxon Blood, as Suttons Name testefieth he was, shoold match with such an Enheritrix as Dudley was; the like Example whereof I remember none, but the great House of Raby, who matched with Nevell, who of that Match, as the Suttons wear

A Deter into any Creature, much less to be likely in fence of so noble and well known a Man as he is, onely Leicester thus accused to be by the railing Oratory of a shameles Libeller. Perchaunce he had redd the Rule of that Sycophant, that one should bakbite boldly; for, tho the Bite wear healed, yet the Skar would remain: But sure that Scoolmaster of his would more conningly have carried it, leaving som Shaddows of Good, or, at least, leaving out som Evill, that his Treatis might have carried som probable Shew of it: For as reasonable Commendation wins Beleef, and excessive getts only the Praiser the Title of a Flatterer; so much more in this far wors Degree of Lying, it may well rebound uppon himself, the vile Reproch of a Railer, but never can sink into any good Mind. The Suspicion of any such unspeakable Mischeevs, especially it beeing every Mans Case, even from the Meanest to the Highest, whereof we daily see odious Examples, that even of the great Princes, the deer Riches of a good Name are sought in such Sort to be pickt away by such Night Theeves. For thorow the whole Book, what is it else, but such a Bundle of Railinges, as if it came from the Mouth of som haulf drunk Skold in a Tavern, not regarding while Evill weare spoken, what was fitt for the Person of whome the Railing was, so the Wordes wear fitt for the Person of an outragious Railer. Dissimulation, Hipocrisy, Adultery, Falshod, Trechery, Poison, Re-

II 2

bellion, Treason, Cowardis, Atheism, and what A Denot, and all still so uppon the Superlative, that it fence of was no Mervail, though the good Lawyer, he Leicester speaks of, made many a Cros to keep him from such a Father of lies, and in many excellent Giftes, passing all shameles Skoldes, in one he passeth himself with an unheard-of impudence, bringing Persons, yet alive, to speak Thinges which they are reddy to depose, uppon their salvation, never came in their Thoughtes. Such a Gentlewoman spake of a Matter no less then Treason, belike she whispred, yet he heard her; such two Knightes spake together of thinges not fitt to call Witnesses to, yet this Asses Eares wear so long, that he heard them. And yet see his good Nature all this While would never reveal them till now, for Secrecy Sake, he puts them foorth in Print; certainly such a Quality in a Railer, as I think never was heard of, to name Persons alive, as not onely can, but do disprove his Falshods, and yet, with such Familiarity, to name them. Without he learnd it of Pace, the Duke of Norfolkes Fool. for he. when he had used his Tong, as this Heir of his hath don his Pen, of the noblest Persons, somtimes of the Duke himself, the next that came fitly in his Way, he would say he had told it him, of abundance of Charity, not onely to slaunder, but to make bate. What therefore can be said to such a Man? Or who lives there, even Christ him self, but that so stinking a Breath may blow In-

113

Seperating of those Branches (as we see in many A Defence of ancient Houses, it so falls out, as they are uncer-Leicester tain whether came out of other) then, I say yet, a vaillant Railer may venture uppon a Thing, where, because there is not an absolute certainty, there may bee some Possibility to escape; but, in this Case, where not onely Name and Armes, with onely that Difference, which acknowledgeth our House to be of the yonger Brother, but such Neereness of Blood, as that Edmond Dudleys was no furdre off then Son to the yonger Brother of the same Lord Dudley, and so as he was to be Lord Dudley, if the Lord Dudley had died without Heires; and, by the German and Italien Manner, him self was to have been also called Lord Dudley; that his Father, beeing called John Dudley, married to the Daughter and Heir of Bramshot in Sussex; twas the onely Descent between him and the Lord Dudley, who was his Grandfather; his Great Grandfather beeing that noble Lord Dudley, whome before I mentioned, and no Man need doubt that this Writer doth not onely know the Truthe hereof, but the Proofes of this Truth. This John, Edmondes Father, being buried at Arundel Castell, who married Bramshot, and left that Land to Edmond, and so to the Duke in Sussex, which, after the Duke sold, by Confiscation came to the Crown. This Tomb any Man at Arundel Castell may see. This Bramshot Land I name, a Thing not in the Air, but which any

Man, by the ordinary Course of those Thinges, A Demay soone know whether such Land did not suc-fence of ceed unto Edmond from his Father. So as where Leicester is this Enheritance of Land, and Monumentes in Churches, and the Persons them selves little more then in Mans Memory; truly this Libeller deserves many Thankes, that, with his impudent Falshod, hath given Occasion to set down so manifest a Truth.

As to the Dudleys, he dealls much harder withall, but no Whitt truer: But therein I must confess, I can not alleag his uncharitable Triumphing uppon the Calamities faln to that House, though they might well be challenged of a Writer, of whom any Honesty wear to be expected; but God forbid I shoold find Fault with that. since. in all his Book, there is scarce any one Trewth else. But our House receaved such an Overthrow; and hath none else in England done so? I will not seek to wash away that Dishonour with other honorable Tears. I woold this Island wear not so full of such Examples; and I think, indeed, this Writer, if he wear known, might in Conscience clear his Auncestours of any such Disgraces, they were to low in the Mire to be so thunderstricken: but this I may justly and boldly affirm, lett the last Fault of the Duke be buried.

And, in good Faith, now I have so far touched their, as any Man that list to know a Truth (if at least there bee any that can dout thereof) may

arise out of the Parties wicked Humors, as in sick Folkes, that think, with Change of Places, to eas Leicester their Evill, which indeed is inward, and whome, nor this Prince nor that Prince can satisfy, but such as are ledd by their Fancies, that is to say, who leave to be Princes. But this gentle Libelmaker, because he would make an evident Proof of an unquencheable Malice, desperat Impudency and Falshod, which never knew Blusshing, is not content with a whole Dictionary of Slanders upon these Persons living, but, as if he woold rake upp the Bones of the Dead, with so apparent Falshods toucheth their Houses, as if he had been afeard. els he shoold not have been streight found in that wherein he so greatly labours to excell. First, for Hastinges, he saith, the Lord Hastinges conspired the Death of his Maister King Edwardes Sons; lett any Man but reed the excellent Treatis of Sir Thomas Moor, compare but his Wordes with this Libelmakers, and then judg him, if he, who in a Thing so long since printed, and, as any Man may see by other of his Allegations of him diligently redd, hath the Face to write so directly contrary, not caring, as it seemes, though a hundred thousand find his Falshod, so som dosen, that never redd Sir Thomas Moores Wordes, may be carried to beleeve his horrible Slaunders of a Nobleman so long ago dead. I sett down the Wordes of both, because, by this onely lively Comparison, the Face of his Falshod may be the

better sett foorth. And who then can dout, but he A Dethat lies in a Thing, which, with one Look, is found fence of a Lie, what he will do, where yet there is though Leicester as much Falshod, yet not so easy Disproof.

Now to the Dudleys, such is his Bounty, that, when he hath poured out all his Flood of scolding Eloquence, he saith they are no Gentlemen, affirming, that the then Duke of Northumberland was not born so; in Truth, if I shoold have studdied with my self of all Pointes of fals Invections. which a poisenous Tong coold have spitt out against that Duke, yet would it never have come into my Hed, of all other Thinges, that any Man woold have objected Want of Gentry unto him; but this Fellow doth like him, who, when he had shot off all his railing Quiver, cald one Cuckold that was never married, because he woold not be in Debt to any one evill Word. I am a Dudley in Blood, that Dukes Daughters Son, and do acknowledg, though, in all Truth, I may justly affirm, that I am, by my Fathers Side, of ancient, and alwayes well esteemed and well matched Gentry, yet I do acknowledge, I say, that my cheefest Honor is to be a Dudley, and truly am glad to have Cause to set foorth the Nobility of that Blood whereof I am descended, which, but uppon so just Cause, without vain glory, coold not have been uttred; since no Man, but this Fellow of invincible Shamelesness woold ever have cald so palpable a Matter in Question. In one Place of his Booke, he

A Degreatly extolleth the great Nobility, of the House fence of of Talbot, and truly with good Cause, there bee-Leicester ing, as I think, not in Europe a subject House which hath joined longer Continuance of Nobility, with Men of greater Service and Loyalty. And yet this Dukes own Grandmother, whose Blood he makes so base, was a Talbot, Daughter and sole Heir to the Vicount of Lile; even he, the same Man, who, when he might have saved himself, chose rather manifest Death, then to abandon his Father, that most noble Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, of whome the Histories of that Time make so honorable Mention. The House of Gray is well known; to no House in England in great Continuance of Honour, and for Nomber of great Houses sprong of it, to be matched by none; but, by the noble House of Nevel, his Mother was a right Gray, and a sole Enheritrix of that Gray of the House of Warwick which ever strave with the great House of Arundel, which shoold be the first Earl of England; he was likewise so descended, as that justly the Honour of the House remained cheefly uppon him, beeing the onely Heir to the eldest Daughter, and one of the Heirs to that famous Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, that was Regent of Fraunce; and although Richard Nevel, who married the yongest Sister, because she was of the whole Blood to him that was called Duke of Warwick, by a Point in our Law carried away the Enheritance; and so also I know

not by what Right the Title, yet in Law of Her- A Dealdry and Descentes, which doth not consider fence of those Quiddities of our Law; it is most certain, Leicester that the Honour of the Blood remained uppon him cheefly who came of the eldest Daughter. And more undoubtedly is it to be said of the House of Barkley, which is affirmed to be descended lineally from a King of Denmark, but hath ever been one of the best Houses in England, and this Duke was the onely Heir general to that House, which the House of Barkley doth not deny; howsoever, as somtimes it fals out between Brothers, there be Question for Land between them. Many other Houses might heerin be mentioned, but I name these, because England can boast of no nobler, and because all these Bloods so remained in him, that he, as Heir, might (if he had listed) have used their Armes and Name. as in old Time they used in England, and do daily, both in Spain, France, and Italy. So that I think, it woold seeme as great News as if they came from the Indies, that he, who by Right of Blood, and so accepted, was the auncientest Vicount of England, Heir in Blood and Armes to the first or second Earl of England; in Blood of Enheritance a Gray, a Talbot, a Beauchamp, a Barkley, a Lislay, shoold be douted to be a Gentleman. But he will say, these great Honors came to him by his Mother, for these I do not deny they came so; and that the Mother, beeing an Heir, hath

bellion, Treason, Cowardis, Atheism, and what A Denot, and all still so uppon the Superlative, that it fence of was no Mervail, though the good Lawyer, he Leicester speaks of, made many a Cros to keep him from such a Father of lies, and in many excellent Giftes, passing all shameles Skoldes, in one he passeth himself with an unheard-of impudence, bringing Persons, yet alive, to speak Thinges which they are reddy to depose, uppon their salvation, never came in their Thoughtes. Such a Gentlewoman spake of a Matter no less then Treason, belike she whispred, yet he heard her; such two Knightes spake together of thinges not fitt to call Witnesses to, yet this Asses Eares wear so long, that he heard them. And yet see his good Nature all this While would never reveal them till now, for Secrecy Sake, he puts them foorth in Print; certainly such a Quality in a Railer, as I think never was heard of, to name Persons alive, as not onely can, but do disprove his Falshods, and yet, with such Familiarity, to name them. Without he learnd it of Pace, the Duke of Norfolkes Fool, for he, when he had used his Tong, as this Heir of his hath don his Pen, of the noblest Persons, somtimes of the Duke himself, the next that came fitly in his Way, he would say he had told it him, of abundance of Charity, not onely to slaunder, but to make bate. What therefore can be said to such a Man? Or who lives there, even Christ him self, but that so stinking a Breath may blow In-

no Devil so wicked, nor no Idiot so simple, as to A Deconjecture; and yet, beeing to him as I am, I fence of think I shold have som Air of that, which this gen- Leicester tle Libelmaker doth so particularly and peecemeal understand, and I do know the Earls of Warwick, of Pembroke, my Father, and all the rest he names there, will answer the like. And yet such Matters cannot be undertaken, without good Frendes, nor good Frendes be kept without knowing somthing; but the Earles Mind hath ever been to serve onely and truly, setting aside all Hopes, all Feares, his Mistris, by undouted Right Queen of England, and most worthy to be the Queen for her royall Excellencies, and most worthy to be his Queen, having restored his overthrown House, and brought him to this case; that Curs for onely envy bark at. And this his Mind is not onely (though cheefly) for Faith knitt in Conscience and Honor, nor onely (though greatly) for Gratefulness, where al Men know how much he is bound, but even partly for Wisdomes Sake, knowing, by all old Lessons and Examples, that, how welcom soever Treasons bee, Traitors to all wise Princes are odious, and that, as Mutius answered Tully, who wrote to him how he was blamed for shewing himself so constant a Frend to Cæsar, that he douted not, even they that blamed him would rather choos such Frendes as he was, then such as they wear. For wise Princes well know, that these violent Discontentements

arise out of the Parties wicked Humors, as in sick Folkes, that think, with Change of Places, to eas Leicester their Evill, which indeed is inward, and whome, nor this Prince nor that Prince can satisfy, but such as are ledd by their Fancies, that is to say, who leave to be Princes. But this gentle Libelmaker, because he would make an evident Proof of an unquencheable Malice, desperat Impudency and Falshod, which never knew Blusshing, is not content with a whole Dictionary of Slanders upon these Persons living, but, as if he woold rake upp the Bones of the Dead, with so apparent Falshods toucheth their Houses, as if he had been afeard, els he shoold not have been streight found in that wherein he so greatly labours to excell. First, for Hastinges, he saith, the Lord Hastinges conspired the Death of his Maister King Edwardes Sons; lett any Man but reed the excellent Treatis of Sir Thomas Moor, compare but his Wordes with this Libelmakers, and then judg him, if he, who in a Thing so long since printed, and, as any Man may see by other of his Allegations of him diligently redd, hath the Face to write so directly contrary, not caring, as it seemes, though a hundred thousand find his Falshod, so som dosen, that never redd Sir Thomas Moores Wordes, may be carried to beleeve his horrible Slaunders of a Nobleman so long ago dead. I sett down the Wordes of both, because, by this onely lively Comparison, the Face of his Falshod may be the

better sett foorth. And who then can dout, but he A Dethat lies in a Thing, which, with one Look, is found fence of a Lie, what he will do, where yet there is though Leicester as much Falshod, yet not so easy Disproof.

Now to the Dudleys, such is his Bounty, that, when he hath poured out all his Flood of scolding Eloquence, he saith they are no Gentlemen, affirming, that the then Duke of Northumberland was not born so; in Truth, if I shoold have studdied with my self of all Pointes of fals Invections. which a poisenous Tong coold have spitt out against that Duke, yet would it never have come into my Hed, of all other Thinges, that any Man woold have objected Want of Gentry unto him; but this Fellow doth like him, who, when he had shot off all his railing Quiver, cald one Cuckold that was never married, because he woold not be in Debt to any one evill Word. I am a Dudley in Blood, that Dukes Daughters Son, and do acknowledg, though, in all Truth, I may justly affirm, that I am, by my Fathers Side, of ancient, and alwayes well esteemed and well matched Gentry, yet I do acknowledge, I say, that my cheefest Honor is to be a Dudley, and truly am glad to have Cause to set foorth the Nobility of that Blood whereof I am descended, which, but uppon so just Cause, without vain glory, coold not have been uttred; since no Man, but this Fellow of invincible Shamelesness woold ever have cald so palpable a Matter in Question. In one Place of his Booke, he

greatly extolleth the great Nobility, of the House of Talbot, and truly with good Cause, there bee-Leicester ing, as I think, not in Europe a subject House which hath joined longer Continuance of Nobility, with Men of greater Service and Loyalty. And yet this Dukes own Grandmother, whose Blood he makes so base, was a Talbot, Daughter and sole Heir to the Vicount of Lile; even he, the same Man, who, when he might have saved himself, chose rather manifest Death, then to abandon his Father, that most noble Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, of whome the Histories of that Time make so honorable Mention. The House of Gray is well known; to no House in England in great Continuance of Honour, and for Nomber of great Houses sprong of it, to be matched by none; but, by the noble House of Nevel, his Mother was a right Gray, and a sole Enheritrix of that Gray of the House of Warwick which ever strave with the great House of Arundel, which shoold be the first Earl of England; he was likewise so descended, as that justly the Honour of the House remained cheefly uppon him, beeing the onely Heir to the eldest Daughter, and one of the Heirs to that famous Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, that was Regent of Fraunce; and although Richard Nevel, who married the yongest Sister, because she was of the whole Blood to him that was called Duke of Warwick, by a Point in our Law carried away the Enheritance; and so also I know